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CUBA OF LEONARD WOOD AND TODAY

By EDWIN WILDMAN

Following our policy of presenting the foremost Presidential possibilities, the Editor of THE FORUM called upon and interviewed Leonard Wood. General Wood in the course of an interview referred the Editor of THE FORUM to his administrative service in Cuba.

To authoritatively reflect General Wood's qualifications as an executive, the Editor of THE FORUM made the trip to Cuba, and conferred with Cubans of every class and status.

This article is a result of an investigation and impressions gained in actual contact with Cubans of today.

HAVANA, Cuba, February, 1920.

THERE are many aspects of Cuba today that are inspiring. Not the least of them is the luxurious charm of its miniature Paris, its capital, Havana, its sunshine and its gaiety. Cuba has become a white man's paradise of climate and prosperity. It is an island of sweet perfumes, lying seductively in the embrace of constant summer, but free of the enervating influences of the tropical zone.

But, in these days of practical problems, Cuba today has demonstrated her place in the front ranks of national identity. Since her adoption by the United States, when she was an abused, half starved, fever-ridden infant, she

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has developed into a glorious debutante of nations. Calculating her age from that date of sordid infancy, she is now eighteen years old. In 1902 she was given her independence by the United States Government. She has inherited her constitution, her health, her education, her accomplishments from her American military governor, Major-General Leonard Wood. She no longer lisps her name as she once did. In 1920, the eighteenth year of her national independence, she acknowledges her life and freshness to him, as the inheritance he gave her.

In every department in Cuban administration, from the President's office to the humblest laborer on the plantation, Wood's name is spoken with affection and reverence. As military governor of Cuba, his courage as a soldier became subservient to his talents as an administrator. When you mention Wood in Cuba, they refer to him as the father of the republic, a "miracle man" who scourged the island of disease and administered justice without fear or force.

The most striking impression the inquiring American, fresh from the States, receives in Cuba today, is that Leonard Wood's military record is regarded as a lesser feature of his service to Cuba. The wisdom of his administrative ability, of the statesmanship he applied in selecting the Cuban leaders, of his uncompromising relation to political hypocrisy and graft, of his moral force in the educational progress and commercial integrity for Cuba, is the wisdom that prevails in the legislative and trade centers of this most fortunate island of the tropics. Including some 400,000 Spanish residents, all Cubans are living under those principles of liberty that Wood brought to them from America. It is one thing to propose a form of government to a distracted people, it is another to put it in operation.

Said to me a great Spanish planter, the master of 25,000 acres and the employer of thousands of natives, "If you were to ask the Spaniards in Cuba who is the greatest man who ever administered Cuban affairs, they will tell you, General Wood. If you ask the Cubans, they will tell you,

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Leonard Wood; if you ask the Chinos and the niggers, they will shout, 'Ood!' "

When General Wood took possession of the Island of Cuba in 1899, he summoned all the brain and ability of Cuba. He consulted with the men who knew Cuba. He selected officials of known prestige with the people of Cuba and ruthlessly swept the grafters from the temple of state.

"Now, gentlemen, we meet every morning at 10 o'clock," he said in his official cabinet.

He pointed out that there was a great task and a great opportunity before them; that the work that confronted them was so tremendous that it could not be accomplished if the old manana customs were to prevail; that promptness was essential and all must be present and on the job at the beginning of the day's business, unless sick.

Cuba smiled. Such efficiency was unheard of in Havana.

HAPPY ENDING OF CUBA'S REVOLUTION

TO change a people in a state of revolution into a peaceful, independent people of self-government, has been the problem of all ages. The difficulties of establishing any practical ideals are stupendous. The man who undertakes it must have exceptional gifts of persuasion. Cuba's problem in 1898 was the problem of turning a monarchial form of government into a free republic. The historical fact today is that the national tragedy of revolution was turned into a happy ending. One sees it on all sides in Havana. And the happy ending was written by an American.

The early romance of Cuba is stirring enough, full of the dramatic action of war, but the most fascinating part of it was the happy ending written by General Wood after three years' service in Havana as military governor of Cuba. It was the only time in his executive career that he discarded the uniform. During those three years that he spent in Havana, restoring the bruised and disordered Cuban to a state of normal life and order, he wore civilian

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clothes. Himself, he has given no explanation of this, but one can easily sense his purpose. He did not wish to militarize Cuba, he wished chiefly to establish its civilian character.

He had measured the Cuban character carefully and concluded that the Cubans were the most advanced type of a tropic race. His problem was not to civilize a superstitious, savage, tribal people. Being a white race, he met them like white men, expecting them to assume the responsibility of a new government with the moral intelligence of white men. His was the test of diplomacy, of establishing a relation of confidence with a people who, like himself, understood the white man's point of view. Fundamentally, General Wood accepted the Cubans not as a colonial race (for there was no intention on the part of the United States to make Cuba an American colony), but as a new ally in the republican nations of the world.

Speaking of the Cubans as a people, towards the end of his administration in Cuba, General Wood said:

"Their position has been an extremely difficult one, and, in my opinion, they have conducted themselves exceptionally well."

His friendliness to the Cubans was frank, open and confident. In his task of healing the wounds of a war imposed upon them by the injustice of their conqueror, he did not make the mistake of fostering a spirit of distrust towards their former enemy. With the American's temperament to see fair play, he did not, as military governor, oppress the Spaniards in Cuba. In his address to the Secretary of War he said:

"The attitude of the Spanish element in Cuba has been all that could be desired. They have been industrious and law-abiding."

With the power of the United States military and naval forces behind him, the American military governor did not establish his administration of Cuba in Havana, in 1899, with the pomp of military authority. Nevertheless, it was a military occupation of enemy territory, but with an inter-

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pretation of practical sympathy for the Cubans who were the victims of war. Spain called it a rebellion. The United States, from the deeper remembrance of an experience a century before, did not sympathize with Spanish methods of autonomy in name only.

President McKinley's explanation of General Wood's position in Cuba is clearly defined in his letter of July 18, 1898, immediately after the capture of Santiago. These excerpts are quoted to qualify General Wood's administration:

"It is my desire that the inhabitants of Cuba should be acquainted with the purpose of the United States to discharge to the fullest extent its obligations in this regard. It will therefore be the duty of the Commander of the Army of Occupation to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we come, not to make war upon the inhabitants of Cuba, but to protect them in their homes, in their employment, and in their personal and religious rights.

"He will possess the power to replace or expel the native officials in part or altogether, to substitute new courts of his own constitution for those that now exist, or to create such new or supplementary tribunals as may be necessary. In the exercise of these high powers the Commander must be guided by his judgment and his experience and a high sense of justice."

This was the great administrative task entrusted to General Wood. Its application was an unparalleled expression of confidence of the United States Government, by order of the President of the United States.

WOOD FIGHTS DISEASE AND CORRUPTION

IN Havana today there is every evidence of the Cuban temperament for good taste and good government. General Wood's confidence in the Cubans was not misplaced, although the Havana of 1899 was a mere backwash village of filth and disease in comparison. It was not apparent to any but Wood that Cuba would be equal to the dignity it has since demonstrated.

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Washington can always be relied upon for a fine ideal, but the details are usually left to some officer of the government. The details count, they are the intricate machinery required to reconstruct, in this case, a persecuted and exploited people into a working national force in the affairs of the world. The task was left by Washington to General Leonard Wood. He went to Havana, in 1899, fresh from his demonstrated triumph in Santiago, with the complete confidence and support of Washington. Administrative and executive methods were left to his own judgment.

He found the Island of Cuba bankrupt of everything, burdened with starvation, an alarming mortality from disease, a political and moral system disorganized to the verge of anarchy, and life for the Cubans a dim, flickering existence of horror and suspicion. There was no money in the treasury, no health, no application of just laws, no more future for them than there might be for a dying race under the blight of a savage war. It was like taking a ball of wet, muddy clay, and shaping it into a vision, a symbol of a new republic. That symbol, in General Wood's mind, was no sculptured piece of ornamental art. What he had in his mind was a civil organization founded on the lines of republican principles. It was less difficult to make these principles understandable to the Cubans, than it would have been had they not eagerly embraced the principles of the Wood character and been eager to aid in the establishment of self-government.

The social mess which Cuba had become in 1899 was formless. Associating with him, as a personal staff, four secretaries as civil assistants, Leonard Wood began the task of restoring Cuba on the basis of a miniature republican administration, himself the administrative head, the secretaries acting as his Cabinet. Thus, four general departments of government were formulated. They were the secretary of state and government; the secretary of the Department of Justice; the secretary of Public Works, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce; and the secretary of the Department of Hacienda or Finance. Upon this structure

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of civil government he untangled, by degrees, the crossed lines and wires of political disorder. So far, so good.

Excepting for the fact that as military governor he could issue orders to be obeyed, there remained only the problem of how to keep the people to whom they were issued—alive. General Wood seldom invoked the military to enforce his plans or orders. The structural forms of administration were threshed out into acceptability in advance. By personal example and personal fearlessness, he won the respect of all Cuba. I was told that, upon one occasion when a mob of Cubans, thinking the wheels of justice were moving too slowly, attacked the Spanish Club with bludgeons and stones, General Wood alone and unarmed hurried over from the palace and, thrusting himself through the mob, placed himself on the doorstep of the club. He addressed the mob, and urged them to disperse to their homes and trust in the justice of the Administration in handling questions that were pressing for solution. Then he summoned a Cuban armed guard, and in a voice audible to the crowd, said to him: "You are placed here to see that no violence is done. Shoot, to kill, the first man that crosses this threshold."

Wood left and returned to the palace, and a messenger with an apology shortly followed him, sent by the Cubans who had in a moment of excitement turned into a mob.

WOOD FORMULATES CUBA'S CONSTITUTION

HIS problems were how to finance the task of nation-building without revenue, what to do with those sections of the people who were full of distrust of American purposes. There were also innumerable questions of policy which could not be solved by military regulations, because they would have challenged the purposes of civil government. As military governor, General Wood was well within his authority if he should have used the moral force of armed suppression. He never lost sight, however, of his task to establish a civil government in Cuba, and he proceeded on these lines only.

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In the official family of Cuba's republic today, Wood's ideas are the text and letter of Cuban administration of the law, as well as the foundations of her independent citizenship. I talked with the ministers of President Menocal's cabinet, with the political leaders of the conservative and liberal parties. Politically, Cuba is still united in national policy to do nothing that will disturb her cordial relations of gratitude and affection towards the United States. As a general principle, Cuba retains the allegiance established by General Wood. The President of Cuba thinks and acts with the same viewpoint for Cuba that Wood had. He concentrates his administration upon maintaining a perfection of Cuban citizenship, and upon the Cuban constitution.

On May 20, 1902, after having been framed and adopted by a convention specially convened for that purpose during the first intervention of the United States in Cuban affairs, it bears the signature of General Leonard Wood. In addition to providing for a republican form of government consisting of an executive, legislative (divided into a Senate and Assembly of Representatives), and a judicial branch, the form and machinery of which are specifically defined, it contains all those provisions commonly referred to in the Constitution of the United States as the Bill of Rights, to wit: equality of all citizens before the law; a prohibition against retroactive laws, except penal laws, when they are favorable to the accused, and a prohibition against the impairment of the obligation of contract by the legislative or executive powers; provisions for the allowance of the writ of habeas corpus; inviolability of domicile; freedom of speech and press, and the profession of religious faiths; right of peaceful assembly; and provisions providing that no one shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, and that no one can be compelled to testify against himself, consort or near relative.

The Constitution of the Republic of Cuba contains a most important amendment, commonly referred to as the

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"Platt Amendment," by virtue of its being an amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill of 1901 of the United States and by virtue of its incorporation into the Constitution of Cuba as a constitutional amendment. Its terms were also made the subject of a treaty between the two countries on June 12, 1901. By the terms of this amendment, Cuba is precluded from entering into any treaty with a foreign power which may endanger its independence, and it cannot contract a debt for which the current revenue will not suffice. And, in addition, Cuba conceded therein to the United States the right of intervention to preserve Cuban independence and to maintain a government "adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty." Personal and property rights in Cuba, of both natives and foreigners, are thus guaranteed by and under the protection of both the United States and Cuban Governments.

CUBA OF TODAY HEALTHY AND PROSPEROUS

AT present Cuba is an agricultural island. Out of the muck of marsh and decay which Wood found in 1899 has sprung a fertile land of prosperous plantations, and 2000 miles of macadam and block granite roads, capable of carrying the heaviest trucking in the world, $7,000,000 now being spent in additional road building, all of which General Wood declared was possible in his official report at the end of his administration.

Cuba has lost the lines of pain and disease that seamed the face of the island when Wood was first with her. She is healthy, she is industrious, she is rich. These are outstanding impressions in Cuba today that give cause for reflection. They are very practical, too. They were some of the undreamed-of possibilities that were visioned by Wood in Havana in 1899. Another problem was to mold the ideas of republican citizenship so that an alien race might grasp them. Still another was the permanent solution of the pressing problem of domestic cleanliness and

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health. Yet another was the education of the people as a preparation for citizenship.

Wood is not the kind of man who tells what he is going to do beforehand. He has demonstrated the reserve of the dynamo, that hums only when it works hardest. There is evidence enough in Cuba today that when he became military governor there, he had a fundamental plan for creating a republic. Military methods were tabooed, except as a police force, which exists today. Primarily he believed that human beings can only learn the dignity of responsibility by understanding the duties and privileges of citizens. First, by obedience to a mutual right, that right being dependent upon obedience to fixed domestic laws of moral and temporal cleanliness. He believed in beginning the day's work with soap and water, with a strong disinfectant against disease. The day's work itself would be greatly simplified by a proper beginning.

Wood's sanitary administration in Cuba, and his declaration of citizenship embodied in the Constitution of the Republic of Cuba, are two pillars upon which his reconstruction of a stricken country stands successfully. The military regulations for cleaning up their surroundings had its effect upon Cubans, once they were free to put American ideas of health into operation, although in Santiago, in 1898, General Wood found an almost superstitious opposition to hygiene. Havana, though partially scoured and restored to orderliness, was in a wretched condition in 1899. Her state buildings were unsafe, there was no sewerage system and most of her streets were still filthy. All this is almost unbelievable today as one rides down the spotless Prado, and out the Malacon, the Riverside Drive of Havana, and it is equally difficult to conceive that the ship-congested harbor of Havana was once a stinking and filthy waterhole. General Wood declared in his report that Havana was one of the dirtiest and most unsanitary cities in the world, with a dying population of about 250,000. The fact that the military governor was also a physician with a keen delight in the exploring instinct which medical knowl-

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edge invites, led to what is considered in Cuba today, by the peasantry, as a miracle. I refer to his successful obliteration of yellow fever from the Island of Cuba.

WOOD EXTIRPATES YELLOW FEVER

IN the gardens of the Department of Health in Havana, is a statue of Dr. Finlay, to whom General Wood gave full credit for his share in destroying the yellow fever plague. Long before Wood went to Cuba, as far back as 1881, Dr. Finlay of Havana had been urging a theory that mosquitoes were the means of transmitting yellow fever. No one paid attention to his theory, until General Wood, in pursuance of his policy to encourage any local intelligence, took the matter up. The medical profession had totally ignored Dr. Finlay's theory. In the fall of 1900 General Wood, in response to a request from Drs. Reed and Kean, medical officers of the army, gave them an appropriation to undertake certain experiments based on Dr. Finlay's discovery. A careful series of scientific experiments were made and it was found beyond question that yellow fever could not be communicated either with persons or infected articles. It was finally discovered that yellow that inhabited the Island of Cuba. This discovery was made by the voluntary sacrifice of a Cuban doctor who permitted himself to be stung by one of these mosquitoes, and who died of yellow fever. There followed an intensive hygienic washing of all mosquito-infected sections with the result that yellow fever was exterminated in Cuba, and has never been found on the island since. To the laboring class of Cuba, it is a miracle associated with the name of "The Great Americano—Wood!"

Cuba, a nation sick unto death with the plague of yellow fever, first needed a doctor. Only in convalescence would the Cubans be equal to the panacea of national resurrection. Wood being a physician became the healer first, the administrator afterwards. It was his invariable custom to give full credit to the assistance which the American officers of his staff gave him during his administration. To

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Surgeon-General Gorgas, U. S. A., he expressed his official gratitude and praise for the sanitation of Cuba, and to the then Lieut. M. E. Hanna for his remarkable services in establishing an educational system for Cuba.

In view of this splendid condition which I found in all departments of the Cuban government today, it is incumbent to justify the source of improvement, because what Cuba was in 1902 after Wood's brief administration of three years, Cuba is today, an island occupied by a self-respecting, artistic, energetic, grateful and eminently prosperous people. They are the same people, inheriting the traditions of their immediate blood ties, that Wood found bravely struggling against filth and hunger and oppression in 1899. To an American, there is an inspiring thought in this, because it implies what splendid gifts the republican spirit possesses for restoring human happiness and order, out of human chaos and misery. It gives one an appreciation of the human discipline and administrative ability of an American army officer.

REFORMING SPANISH PRISON HORRORS

DESIRING to remove the punitive character of the former Spanish government, General Wood, simultaneously with the cleaning up of the cities, attacked the mediæval prisons, which were the worst conceivable. To accomplish this, pursuant to his principle that the Cubans themselves should eventually govern Cuba, Wood selected General Montalvo, whom he described as a "young man of energy, marked ability, and progressive ideas." He had been the warden of the prison in Havana. Wood sent him to the United States to study our prison system. The result was a presidio conducted largely on the system of the Leavenworth and Joliet prisons. These rules, carried out by General Montalvo, were made by him with the assistance of Lieut. M. E. Hanna, Wood's aide. The prison system of Cuba is the same as that of the United States today. Under Spanish rule, the only object of prisons was to incarcerate prisoners and leave them there, stranded

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from all judicial relief, regardless of time, or the common sanitary needs of health. It was Wood's policy in his administration to emphasize the relation of all government departments in Cuba to the general purpose of public interest. With this principle clearly defined, the government of Cuba became an operation of executive service, instead of an authority to suppress Cuban independence, as it had been formerly. There followed reform schools, institutions of correction, conducted on the American system of humane direction.

The Spanish government of Cuba had impressed many wise and liberal provisions of charity for the care of destitute children and the aged in Cuba. Nearly all these institutions were endowed by private individuals, many of them occupying extensive quarters. They were mostly conducted by the Sisters of various orders. The laws established for these institutions were excellent, and liberally conceived. But they had been neglected, their equipment had vanished. They had become practically worthless. Extensive sanitary reforms were necessary in them, for, like every other phase of the Cuban disaster, it was necessary to clean up.

The Department of Charities of Cuba was created, and its laws set forth by Wood on July 7, 1900, and they are conducted under these laws today. They include the care of delinquent children, a trade school for boys, another for girls, besides special reform schools. A complete readjustment of institutions devoted to the care of the insane was necessary. Under Spanish rule they had been treated like animals. Free hospitals were increased and improved. All these laws were drawn up by Major E. St. J. Greble, with the assistance of Mr. Homer Folks of the New York State Board of Charities. In a short time many of these temporary institutions were discontinued, by a process of consolidation. The chief purpose of all this was to disentangle the imprisonment of Cuban independence by the Spanish neglect of Cuban citizenship.

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INAUGURATING REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT

TO make citizens of the Cubans, to lead them to grasp the privileges of a republican form of government, was the chief anxiety of the American emancipation of Cuba. Scarcely a few months after the American occupation of Cuba, preparations were inaugurated to begin the municipal elections. It was the first test of Cuban instinct for self-government. The elections were held in June, the form of the electoral laws drawn by a special commission appointed in February, 1901. This commission appointed by Wood consisted of Cubans, natives who in his judgment had the intelligence and quality of leadership. Their services were voluntary, no salaries being paid. These Cubans were selected by Wood, also, because they represented fairly the different political groups or parties.

Two plans were submitted, one by the majority and the other by the minority. The minority plan was adopted. With slight modifications, the election system adopted by this Cuban commission resembles the election of the United States. They governed the election of alcaldes, members of city council, municipal treasurers, and municipal and correctional judges. Wood succeeded in his plans to put within Cuba's grasp a republican form of self-government.

A Constitutional Government was born in Cuba under instructions issued by the military governor in Havana, on July 25, 1900. After a special trip to the United States, to confer with the President and Secretary of War, Wood returned to Havana and issued the following order:

"That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent:

"And whereas, the people of Cuba have established municipal governments deriving their authority from the suffrages of the people given under just and equal laws, and are now ready, in like manner, to proceed to the establishment of a General Government which shall assume and exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction and control over the Island * * * it is ordered that a general election be held in the Island of Cuba."

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LEONARD WOOD'S VISION AND STATESMANSHIP

WOOD'S personal vision of Cuba's political needs was more than official survey. He had the independence of Cuba at heart. What one hears in Cuba of Wood today, emphasizes the impression that Cuba now represents the American character, which is Leonard Wood's personal character. It is a fascinating impression, this infusion of human wisdom into a national expression. Cuba is like Wood himself, a virile, self-contained, executive representative of republican character.

I found repeated indication of Wood's private interest in nationalizing Cuba, indications of his instinct for statesmanship. For instance, a month before the Cuban elections to appoint delegates to a convention to draft the Cuban Constitution, he grasped the need of guidance and advice, of some direct tonic of stimulating thought to help the national spirit of Cuba. He became that stimulant himself. He made a trip to the principal cities of the island, meeting the more prominent influential Cubans of opposing parties, urging them to drop all political differences, so as to select the ablest and best men for the important duty of framing a new constitution. Addressing the convention officially, he said:

"All friends of Cuba will follow your deliberations with the deepest interest, earnestly desiring that you shall reach just conclusions, that by the dignity, individual self-restraint and wise conservatism which shall characterize your proceeding the capacity of the Cuban people for representative government may be signally demonstrated."

In November, 1900, the Constitutional Convention went into session in Havana, having appointed, at the request of the Military Governor, a committee of five to act as a Central Board of Scrutiny, in the subsequent elections. These five Cubans acted as Wood's representatives.

In analyzing the national character of Cuba, Wood sustained the Revolutionary party of that day because he

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found "a large portion of the most conservative men in Cuba" were members of that party.

"These men have the real interest of the country at heart, and they believe in the formation of an independent government as the next step to be taken," he said.

In adjusting the tangle of court procedure, Wood sought the advice of Chief Justice Fuller of the Supreme Court of the United States, who informed him that, in substance, the Spanish laws governing Cuba were sound and good, but their application should be modified to meet the republican needs of the island.

WOOD REFORMS CUBA'S EDUCATIONAL METHODS

EDUCATIONAL problems were many when Wood became the single administrator of Cuban affairs. The school system he established in 1900 is identical with that applied by the Department of Public Instruction in Cuba today. In fact, in all departments I found this to be the case. Wood's laws are the executive instructions that operate the government of Cuba now. The entire educational system is conducted by Cubans. I was told that Wood urged the Cubans to recognize the importance of education for the purpose of creating sound and intelligent citizenship.

Education in Cuba which was a private and privileged function under Spanish rule, now begins with the smallest children. There is today a Cuban kindergarten school in Havana, modeled after Wood's ideas. One hundred and sixty-five Cuban graduates of this school, which is free, had become teachers in it. There are 3296 public schools in Cuba today, with 5551 classes having an attendance of 400,000 children. Among them are 89,000 colored pupils and 245,000 white children. There is a daily attendance in public schools of Cuba of 114,000. All prisoners are compelled to attend one of the 419 schools established in the prisons of Cuba.

Early in the course of his administration, Wood, by a special arrangement with President Eliot of Harvard, sent

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200 Cubans to the American university to attend a special teachers' course, paying their transportation and bringing them safely back to their work. This practise in a modified form still prevails.

Wood seized upon every opportunity to beautify the surroundings in Havana. Early in his administration, he instructed the Department of Public Works to renovate a number of public buildings, and to construct two entirely new public quarters. They both stand today brilliantly ornamenting the city of Havana. One of them is the School of Arts and Trades, and the other is the National Academy of Arts and Sciences, and another the Wood Laboratories. In the rebuilding of Cuba a great deal of public work was done by the military officers of the Army of Occupation. The principal needs of Cuba were new roads and bridges. Entire renovation and equipment was necessary in public school buildings, and houses rented in which to carry on classes.

WOOD'S MODEL RAILROAD ADMINISTRATION

WHILE I was in Havana, Cuba was experiencing one of the responsibilities of the time—a railroad strike. I went into the office of the Secretary of Public Works, assuming that the chief difficulty of the labor trouble in Cuba was due to the fact that they needed a man like Wood at the head of things. One of the first things I asked the Secretary of Public Works was, under what national laws the railroads were being run in Cuba. He put his hand in the right-hand drawer of his desk, and pulled out a little book.

"These are the laws," he said, "which General Wood prepared before the end of his administration, and we are operating this Department strictly under those laws today."

Of course, in the lapse of time since Wood was Military Governor of Cuba, the railroad systems have greatly extended their operations, until now they have 2600 miles of railway, and 260 miles of electric railroad, but no better laws have been adopted than those prepared by the Wood administration in Cuba, for railroad administration. This,

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to me, is a significant fact in Wood's administration, because it conveys the impression that there is a legislative intelligence in the service of the United States Army, which the uniform does not seem to limit. In this connection, I was impressed with the fact that the military character which General Wood might easily have imposed upon Cuba is almost entirely absent from the island.

With the exception of a small force of Cuban artillery, there exists a Municipal Police, the Rural Guard of Cuba. In driving through the beautiful roads of Cuba, we usually came across one of these guards standing at the crossroads. His equipment is that of the average soldier, and his duties consist of sentry duty, more or less attached to other duties in the character of espionage. This force is comparatively small, but it is ample to control any police situation in Cuba.

The purpose in recalling, briefly, these details of Wood's acts during the period of his administration as Military Governor of Cuba, is because the spirit of Wood is voiced in Cuba's official life today. It is the background upon which Cuba stands. Of the significant progress of Cuba economically and industrially, from the days of Wood to Menocal, I will let a Cuban, a former American, speak,—the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Commerce and Trade, George Reno, than whom there is no better informed man in Cuba. Of the spirit of Cuba, I found it living in the practical administrative benefactions of Leonard Wood.

When Estrada Palma came into the first presidency of Cuba, he was much perturbed at the colossal task of carrying forward the work of Leonard Wood. I was told a story that is illustrative of the times. Mr. Palma sought the advice of one of Cuba's industrial giants. "What shall I do?" said Palma. "General Wood has left us an excellent government, a splendid scheme of administration, the country free from debt, and two million dollars in the treasury."

The wise old Cuban, who knew some of the old forces at work in Cuba, replied to Palma, "If you carry out Wood's ideas, appoint honest officials, administer the government with honesty and justice and *carry on the public works he*

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has started without graft, you will have no trouble," continued the Cuban Solon, and that is what Palma tried to do. A fat treasury was a temptation that incited revolutions—a fact amply demonstrated later on.

To have "served with Wood" in Cuba is the Alpha and Omega of Cuban pride. Throughout this Island Republic, Wood is a demigod. Inquiring deeply into this sentiment, I find that it is rooted in his deeds, not merely the emotions of camaraderie.

A CITY OF ENCHANTMENT

I VIEW the beautiful Prado, the Champs Elysees of Havana, and I am told that its beautifying and rebuilding was Wood's work. The open plaza idea is Castilian, but the development and design is the idea that General Wood left to Havana, and at its most prominent spot the Cubans have placed a tablet in tribute and recognition of his service to Cuba. I speak of the Prado because it is the heart and center of Havana, and gives it a Parisian touch, an artistic impression that stamps the ideals of beauty that dominate Cuba today. As Baron Haussmann's great boulevards cut through the heart of Paris, so has old and new Havana separated itself. The Prado, its Fifth Avenue, leads out to old Morro Castle into the broad white Malacon Drive on the bay, extending for miles in a sweeping concave stretch, faced by miles of white and tinted residences of classic beauty, harmonizing but distinctive in their chaste elegance.

The city of Havana is a place of enchantment and of constant surprise to the American. Retaining the characteristics of the Spanish domination, it combines the modern essentials of cleanliness, of a wonderful lighting system, of modern drainage, of ample water works.

In the old city, the city whose walls were built in 1740 by ten thousand African slaves, on the same narrow streets, hardly permitting the passing of two Fords, have been built great buildings as modern as in downtown New York, ac-

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commodating the big business enterprises of this rapidly growing republic, whose exports and imports to the United States exceed that of any other Latin-American country.

Altogether, the walls of the old city have long since disappeared, the ancient site of the early Havana is yet the pulse of business Cuba.

From a pest hole of 1898 it has become almost as spotless as The Hague of Holland. This is a heritage of Wood's administration. Politics, racing, and gambling are merely mental diversions of Cuba. They are incidental, and not vicious in their zone of activities. I have met "the next President" in Havana, and he is perhaps not quite as numerous as in America. However, I am assured that there is one man upon whom all the Cubans would unite—only he does not happen to be a Cuban. In the provinces among the natives he is known as "Heneral Uood," in the cities, where English is spoken, he is the General Wood of the days of the Intervention.

To Wood's genius Cuba as a republic owes her organic existence—her fundamentals and working plan. Said an ex-President of Cuba, to me, "If I were to name the greatest thing that Wood did for Cuba, that lives today, I would upon the Cuban people, his example of honesty, efficiency say that he left indelibly the imprint of his own character and justice."

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LEONARD WOOD AS ADMINISTRATOR

By GEN. MARIO G. MENOCAL
[*President of the Republic of Cuba*]

The Editor of THE FORUM while in Cuba, recently, asked President Menocal to give an expression upon the value of General Wood's civil administration of Cuba. What Wood's work means to Cuba of today is strongly emphasized in President Menocal's tribute.

GENERAL WOOD practically demonstrated that real democracy is not incompatible with the principle of authority, or with a strong government of powerful initiative. It will be found that without such a government democracy degenerates into anarchy and licentiousness, more or less concealed.

He also demonstrated that a free government, far from being, as enemies of the public peace declare, defenseless and precarious, is, as Jefferson said, a government under whose flag all citizens rally at the summons of the Law, to repel public disturbances, as if such were personal matters.

The personal safety of the individual in town and country, an essential condition in the development and progress of the country, received the preferential attention of General Wood, and was the subject of some of the wisest measures instituted by him.

Under his government, pursuing and broadening the scope of the reform work so ably begun by his distinguished predecessor, General Brooke, the administration and finances of Cuba were reorganized, and the extirpation of yellow fever, the plague of the West Indies, and in partic-

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ular of this Island, the chief obstacle menacing the health and prosperity of its population, was carried to a happy end.

Such excellent work, executed under the government of General Wood, aided by the invaluable discoveries of Finlay and the magnificent sanitary campaign directed by Dr. General Gorgas, must be considered as the most glorious achievement of the American Intervention.

Closely connected with this work is the great stimulus imparted to public works and to foreign and domestic trade, which has today reached prodigious figures and which, at the present time, are unequalled by any other country whose population may compare with ours.

The public schools are also indebted to General Wood for their reorganization, and for the powerful impetus, which is still a vital force, in their march toward progress, notwithstanding all the difficulties encountered. With the help of prominent American educators, General Wood quickly built up a teaching corps which soon revealed its ability and zeal. Statistics prove that this work is being untiringly and vigorously pursued, and that the great initiative of the first American Intervention has not been fruitless.

With his keen knowledge of men and things, General Wood soon found a way to deal sympathetically and intelligently with the Cuban people. It is due to this fact that today, after the lapse of so many years, he is still remembered and beloved by the majority of Cubans and held in the highest consideration and esteem by all who were privileged to know him at the time.

Summing up, General Wood left in Cuba a friendly people who remember with admiration his admirable qualities and work, and who will always be grateful to the United States for all that he contributed to the welfare of the Cuban people.

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CUBA'S INDUSTRIAL AWAKENING

THE REMARKABLE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF HER NATURAL RESOURCES

By GEORGE RENO
[*Assistant Secretary of Agriculture of Cuba*]

ON May 20, 1902, the little Island Republic was turned loose to "paddle its own canoe," with the moral protection and support of the United States. It had received only two years' training and guidance under the direction of General Leonard Wood. Could this period of practise and efficient tuition have been prolonged to five or six years, some say ten, it would have escaped many dangers and avoided many mistakes in government that threaten to become chronic.

Cuba's plunge into the world of nations was looked on as a doubtful experiment with no similar attempt that would serve as a promising precedent.

But Cuba had wanted her freedom for over a century, and the United States, perhaps irritated by frequent aspersions on her altruistic motive, decided to let her young protege try it alone; so the flag of Cuba Libre was raised over the old Presidential Palace and the new Republic was born.

There was hardly a dollar in the treasury, and no collateral on which to ask credit, but two millions of free men were full of hope and ambition. The fields were fertile, the rains plentiful, and the sun always shone. Sugar was a sure crop, and Vuelta Abajo tobacco was famous throughout the world, so a people tired of war turned their machetes on the forests, felled trees, and cleared virgin lands for the planting of cane, and the Cuban agricultural and industrial life began. The country soon had something to sell and the wherewithal to buy, and this meant commerce.

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Under the able direction of President Palma, assisted by a cabinet most of whom had profited by lessons in administration under the guidance of Leonard Wood, Cuba prospered and her foreign commerce grew. At the expiration of four years all soldiers of the War of Independence had been paid in full, while twenty-six millions of dollars lay in the Treasury for public improvements and future use. Many modern sugar mills were erected, the acreage of cane was increased and much new machinery was brought into the country. The value of her annual sugar crop was running rapidly into hundreds of millions of dollars. Tobacco also, representing millions in money, was second among her exports.

Beef cattle and milk cows, to replace the herds decimated by war, were imported from Texas, Louisiana, Florida, Mexico and Venezuela. These, turned into the rich *potreros* of Camaguey, soon revived the meat industry. Pedigreed stock was purchased in Kentucky, Missouri and Montana with which to improve the breeds, and the stock-raising began to flourish as never before. Over 4,000,000 are now registered in the Department of Agriculture.

ENCOURAGING THE AGRICULTURIST

AN experimental "Estacion Agronomica" was established at Santiago de las Vegas, some twenty miles from Havana, while other "granjas" or branch stations were started in each one of the six provinces. Agricultural free schools, with board and lodging gratis, are maintained at these granjas to teach practical farming and educate the children of rural districts.

The Government's Central Agricultural Station today would be considered a credit to any State in America. Here are found nearly every grain, fruit, vegetable, forest tree, forage and textile plant known to the tropical and semi-tropical world. The station had its humble beginning during the regime of General Wood some seventeen years ago, and today is the pride of Secretary Sanchez Agramonte, and of its able director, Dr. Mario Calvino.

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During the first Government of Intervention, the cultivation of citrus fruit was introduced by American fruit farmers, mostly from Florida. Many large groves were planted in the provinces of Camaguey, Havana, Pinar del Rio, and in the Isle of Pines. These groves, although sometimes planted on lands not well chosen, have formed, nevertheless, the basis of an industry that amounts to some millions of dollars annually.

Pineapples, too, form an important part of the fruit industry that has increased marvelously since the Flagler freight ferries began carrying daily trains of pines from Cuban fields, directly to the various points of consumption throughout the Northern and Middle West States. Over a million crates of pineapples are thus sent to the United States every year from the vicinity of Artemisa, Bianca and Punta Brava. The surplus of the big crop that comes in too late for export has induced the erection of several canning establishments near Havana, but there is room for more and larger ones.

Several large nurseries located near the Government's Central Experimental Station have recently placed on the market in limited quantities greatly improved varieties of Cuba's delicious mangoes, aguacates and other rare tropical products. This industry in time will prove a very remunerative one.

Another important industry that had its birth in Cuba some forty years ago was suddenly brought into prominence by the scarcity of sisal, resulting from successive revolutions that have practically stopped progress in Mexico during the last five years. Many of the sisal millionaires of Merida, disheartened by conditions in Yucatan, came to Cuba and soon found that both the soil and the climate of this country are better adapted to the cultivation of henequen than those of Mexico.

As a result we have today great fields of this valuable textile plant that along the auto drives from Matanzas to Cardenas stretch away as far as the eye can see toward the horizon, one vast expanse of bluish green. In the city of

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Matanzas we have a $3,000,000 rope and binding twine plant that today renders Cuba independent in the matter of cordage which will soon become a factor among exports to the United States.

CUBA'S POTENTIAL MINERAL WEALTH

BUT notwithstanding Cuba's great potential wealth in fertile soil and ideal climate, recent discoveries seem to justify the prediction that beneath the surface lie perhaps still greater riches than above. That her great central and coast ranges of mountains, spurs and foothills contain wonderful wealth in minerals has long been suspected. On both the north and south coasts of Oriente rich deposits of valuable iron ores have long been worked. The ore in both districts lies almost on the surface and is conveyed to ship-side by gravity cables. Approximately a million tons of this nickelized ore is shipped abroad annually, the Bethlehem Steel Company taking probably the greater part of it. The *Iron Age* some months ago, in estimating the extent of the iron ores in various sections of the world, assigned to Cuba an available supply of four billion tons, with a half a billion tons more not far back in the hills.

The Cubenos or native Indians of Cuba were taking copper ore from the mine now known as "El Cohre" when Columbus discovered the island in 1492. There are reasons for believing that the mine, only a short distance from the entrance to Santiago Bay, had, for many centuries before, been the chief source of all the copper used among the Indians of Florida and the Gulf coast of America. Although one of the oldest mines in the world, it is still worked whenever the price of the metal justifies.

Copper ores are found scattered throughout the islands and are especially plentiful in Oriente and the eastern half of Cuba. But the richest and most productive mine of the republic was discovered only a few years ago in the extreme western end of Pinar del Rio. The main shaft has been carried down 450 feet, with lateral drifts at various depths.

In 1914 the annual yield of copper was valued at about

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$5,000,000. The great demand for copper during the recent European war, of course, increased both the production and the profit from this deposit of Western Cuba.

Excellent chrome and high grade manganese are found in comparatively large deposits, not only in Oriente and Camaguey, but in the central provinces of Matanzas and Las Villas or Santa Clara. Many other valuable ores, such as lead, zinc, tin, antimony, and even vanadium, have been found associated with asphalt, as in Santa Clara province.

At the request of Secretary of Agriculture General Sanchez Agramonte, the United States Government, through the Secretary of the Interior, has promised to aid Cuba in making a thorough geological survey and mineralogical reconnoissance of the island, with detailed maps. President Menocal sent a message to Congress and a bill was introduced urging an appropriation of $100,000 with which to begin the work, to be followed by similar amounts each year until the task was completed.

The United States offered to assume full charge and responsibility for the accuracy of the survey, and to loan, not only its best engineers, but all necessary instruments or other aid that might be needed. It is sincerely hoped that Congress will soon take the matter up seriously and vote the appropriation requested by the President for this most necessary project.

INCREASE OF BANKING AND GENERAL WEALTH

FOLLOWING the rapid advance in the cultivation of cane, tobacco, henequen and other agricultural products, as well as the sporadic but marvelous development of copper and minerals in general, came naturally a marked increase in banking facilities and the general wealth of the country. This brought with it a great expansion in building and improvements of all kinds.

The Havana of today, not only in appearance but in reality, is very different from the old Cuban capital of 1899, when Spain relinquished her control, or from the Havana of 1902, when the flag of the Republic of Cuba replaced

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that of the United States, at the end of the first Government of American Intervention.

Cuba's prosperity seemed assured almost from the first. The sugar industry, under conditions not equaled in any other part of the world, assumed a leading position from the start, and large, modern mills were added to the country's resources every year.

Tobacco also found an important place in the island's annual exports. Each year, in spite of our little political unpleasantness in 1916, showed a decided increase in the foreign trade of the republic.

Havana in 1902, although a clean, orderly city, was badly crowded. Many old-time mansions occupied by families of wealth were still located within the former walled section of the metropolis. Even on the Prado, and in that newer part of the city west of it, the old custom of placing private residences on the edge of the sidewalk still prevailed. The city had not begun to grow or spread out, although sporadic building on vacant lots became common, and occasional one-story houses were torn down to make way for structures of three, four, and even five stories.

Towards the end of the first Intervention, some American army officials who remained in Cuba, evidently tired of residing in houses whose gardens consisted of small patios between four walls, erected a very pretty villa with wide porches and amply shaded grounds out in Vedado. The Cuban population drove by, looked and marveled. It was a new idea, an innovation, strictly American, but they liked it.

Vedado, before the time of the republic, was practically a barren waste from Infanta to the Almandares river, covered with thin grass, rocks and several varieties of cacti. It was inhabited mostly by stray goats and boasted of a few cheap country houses and two tumble-down churches. One might purchase any acre on the district for $20. Today you will pay that much for a square meter.

The officers' villa, with its green lawns, clean walks

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and shade trees, on Linea street, caught the fancy of residents in the crowded city, and soon a second chalet of stone was built near by. The street-car line was extended to the Almendares and the building of villas, surrounded by green lawns, flowers and shade trees, became a fad.

SUBURBAN IMPROVEMENTS AND GOOD ROADS

A FEW far-sighted men bought up all Vedado from the sea to the crest of Principe Hill and far beyond, and thus began the craze for suburban additions in Havana. Americans started the innovations of industry, as you care to term it, in 1901, and soon "everybody was doing it."

For a century or more country roads or wooded trails led from the western gates of the old walled city out into the interior of the Province. Along these rural highways scattering clusters of summer residences had been built long ago, eventually being included in the city proper. Beyond and around these were laid out suburban additions. Vedado was the first, then came Jesus del Monte, followed by Cerro and later Principe Hill.

Today the building of beautiful drives, paved streets frequently crossed by wide double avenues, all shaded, and illuminated with pretentious lights, around the city of Havana, has been reduced to an art, and fortunes are made in the turnover of suburban properties every few months.

Vedado marched west five miles, out to the Playa or bathing beach, and south to Camp Columbia, established by General Wood, and the Country Club. And beyond the latter, mile after mile of beautiful macadam or asphalt drives have been completed to the town of Arroyo Arenas. Cerro has grown out to Palatine and La Cienega. Jesus del Monte has covered the Lomas or hills of Vibora and Arroyo Apolo, with extensions east over the plains of Luyano.

This growth has gone so far and so fast that only by consistent driving over new territory in a motor can one keep track of it. Houses on houses have been or are being built by thousands and an empty one is never found. They are all sold or rented before they are half completed. Among

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these beautiful chalets, costing from five to fifty thousand dollars each, not one is built of wood. Nothing but cream white cut stone or decorated concrete is tolerated.

HAVANA'S REAL ESTATE BOOM

HAVANA is building not only south and westward, but also upward or skyward. Old two- and even three-story buildings are torn down to be replaced by seven-, eight- and nine-story concrete structures. The sky line of Havana from Cabanas across the bay, or from University Hill on the west, changes from month to month so that one can hardly recognize a picture of the city of the year before.

With the extraordinary growth of the metropolis came a corresponding demand for building material, cement, sand, lime, brick and stone. Brick and tile-yards by the score have sprung up on all sides and are supplying orders at their own price. Several big cement plants are working overtime. Iron I-beams and reinforcing rods are imported by shiploads. Pine lumber, used mostly for scaffolding, sells at $90 per thousand. Labor of all kinds is in demand at good prices everywhere, and our Government is very efficient in taking care of agitators, domestic and foreign.

With the unprecedented growth and prosperity, many varied industries have recently started. Breweries, of which there are three in Havana, were making the first, and all are prospering. One of these boasts of making and selling sixty million bottles of beer last year. The malt barley comes in lead-lined boxes from Europe and the hops from the United States. Cuba furnishes the water and other essentials.

DISCOVERY OF SILICA DEPOSITS

THE tremendous demand for bottles brought about a new industry. Not far from the town of Sabalo, in western Pinar del Rio, not long ago was discovered a large deposit of wonderfully pure silica sand. It covers several thousands of acres to a depth varying from three to eight feet. From the deposit is brought material for quite a large

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bottle factory, established near the Palatino Brewery in 1917, so that Cuban-made glass bottles are now plentiful for all purposes.

Some three thousand acres of this silica deposit are of a very superior quality, over 99 per cent pure. The company controlling it has just completed a new plant near Havana where glassware of all kinds will soon be blown and placed on the market, thus rendering the republic, to a large extent at least, independent of outside sources in its needs of glass products.

Rubber tires, too, for trucks and autos, are today made in Cuba, and compete successfully with the imported articles from the United States. The great number of machines in Havana, however, seem to furnish plenty of business for both the foreign and domestic trade.

The American Steel Company has established a very efficient railway-car factory and assembling plant near Havana, where hundreds of modern cane cars are turned out every month for the big sugar mills and estates of the island. This company is making an addition to its plant for the construction of locomotives. High grade roofing material also is now being manufactured for the home market, since wooden shingles are not used in Cuba.

VALUABLE ALCOHOL INDUSTRY

ALCOHOL is an industry whose potential importance or value to Cuba, and to the world for that matter, is just beginning to attract attention in Havana. Next to water it is the greatest solvent known, and in the hundred and one industries in which it plays a vital part, an agent for which there is no substitute.

Alcohol is made (or was once made) from corn and other grains in the United States, and in Europe largely from potatoes. But grain and tubers today are so high in price and in such demand for food, that their use as a source of alcohol for industrial purposes is practically barred. Then again, the manufacture of other than dena-

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tured or poisonous alcohol in the United States is prohibited by law.

Sugar, of course, or molasses, is the cheapest product from which alcohol can be made. Black molasses, a by-product and almost a waste product in the manufacture of sugar, will yield from 30 to 50 per cent of alcohol, according to the sugar content that remains in the molasses. "Black strap" is worth only about three cents per gallon and sometimes less. Its conversion into alcohol and cologne spirits for pharmaceutical, chemical and laboratory purposes, for wines, cordials, beverages, perfumes, dyeing and other industrial uses is merely a matter of distilling and rectifying.

Alcohol, too, is one of the greatest sources of energy known to physics. As a source of motive power in engines of all kinds, its force is only a shade below that of gasoline. As a clean, efficient fuel it is perhaps without a rival. Cost alone in the past has prevented its general use. To manufacture alcohol from grain or starch foods, today, is almost prohibitive, but from molasses, as a by-product in making of sugar in Cuba, its cost is insignificant.

CUBA THE WORLD'S SUGAR BOWL

THE 1920 yield of sugar in Cuba is estimated at 4,500,000 tons, which is equivalent to 33,230,767 bags of sugar of 325 pounds each. The by-products of this quantity of sugar will be approximately 200,000,000 gallons of molasses. This will yield about 80,000,000 gallons of alcohol. The energy derived from a gallon of alcohol will carry a Ford car fifteen miles, so that the potential energy of the alcohol contained in this year's crop of cheap "black strap" molasses is sufficient to drive a Ford 1,250,000,000 miles, or 60,000 times around the earth. The value of this alcohol at present market prices would be about $60,000,000. So that one may say that we have latent energy in Cuba "to burn."

The incessant demand for sugar during the European war has, together with the increased price, caused our

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acreage of cane to more than double, and greatly augmented the output. At the price at which sugar is now selling, the present or 1920 crop will have a money value of $1,080,000,000. And yet, not over a third of our available sugar lands are under cultivation in cane.

It is not an idle boast to say that Cuba, the "Sugar Bowl of the World," could if necessary supply all the civilized nations of the earth with sugar. Mr. Sutton, the celebrated agricultural engineer of New York and Peru, has stated that Cuba, with irrigation, could easily sustain a population of fifty million inhabitants, could feed them with home produce, meats, fish, vegetables and fruit, "with coffee and cordials on the side."

INERTIA

By ADA MELVILLE SHAW

I saw a Star the other day;
It shone down on me from the sky;
I heard it say:

"This way lies light; come out! come up!
There's room to spare where planets wheel
And place to sup.

"Stay not below like weighted clod;
Spread the strong wings of lifting thought
And reach for God.

"He's here! Doubt not, O loitering one!
You've only need to hear, to will—
The flight's begun.

"He is the start and He the goal
And He the Path that lies between:
He is the Whole!"

So said a Star the other day,
Shining upon me from the sky,
Yet—here I stay.

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WHY VENUS MIGHT TALK TO US

By CHARLES GREELEY ABBOT, D.SC.
[*Assistant Secretary Smithsonian Institute*]

Dr. Abbot, being a scientist and philosopher as well, finds in the suggestion that the Earth's wireless signals may be tampered with by some mysterious communication with Venus a reasonable excuse. He even goes further in his belief that perhaps the inhabitants of Venus have solved the social problems that confront us. He denies life to all other planets, such as Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus and Neptune, and concludes that Venus, being a twin planet to the Earth in size and mass, having almost the identical temperature of the Earth, might easily be inhabited.

ARE we soon to talk to beings of another planet?

If the happy day should come when fluent intercourse prevails, there is one question above all others, I believe, which it is our interest to ask. It is this:

"Do all suffer there and die?"

Unless Venus answers "Yes" to this question, she has no saving message to a sister world shuddering before impending disaster, where there is no living prophetic statesman with the gifts and authority to guide society through the coming crisis. But if the affirmative answer comes we may cry out:

"Is happiness nevertheless general with you?" If again the answer comes "Yes" we shall know that they practice the Golden Rule with Common Sense, and we shall say:

"We implore you to tell us how you learned to pass the stage of individual strife, the deadlier sequel of group and national welfare, and attained to love your neighbors

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as yourself, counting as neighbors all of every land and clime who suffer and need help?"

They may have solved this problem, and have come to live as brothers under just, humane, profound and stable laws and customs, which we could copy if we knew them.

What reason is there to believe that beings of the intelligence to make wireless signals to us exist on other planets? Wireless experts have raised the question, and one of them has calculated that the thing is possible so far as space is concerned, if we do not spare expense.

OUR EARTH AND ITS NEIGHBORS

THE Moon is our nearest neighbor and co-planet with ourselves. Astronomers usually call the Earth the planet and the Moon merely a satellite. Except for unequal size one is as much a planet and as much a satellite as the other. They revolve together round the Sun, and rotate together about their common center of gravity. But as the Earth is of four times as great diameter as the Moon, and is eighty-one times as massive, it is the controlling member of the partnership, and swings the Moon as the big boy at school does the little one in the game of "Crack the Whip."

At 240,000 miles distance the Moon is beautifully seen and studied by the aid of a telescope. It is a waterless, airless, mountainous desert. There is no probability whatever that intelligent beings can be there.

What of our great benefactor, the Sun? No living thing, scarcely even the hardiest chemical compound, can exist there because of the intense heat. On Earth the hottest thing is the electric arc, which not only melts but turns into gas every substance. The spectroscope, and the heat measuring appliances, show that the solar temperature is nearly twice as great as that of the arc. Hydrogen would not burn in pure oxygen on the Sun, but water, if it could ever reach there as steam, would be instantly separated into these component gases.

Circling the Sun, beyond the orbit of the Earth, lie five great planets, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, and

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Neptune. Within the Earth's orbit there are two, Venus and Mercury. Which, if any, of these is suitable for life?

The planets naturally divide into two equal groups whose members differ significantly in density. The four inner planets, Mercury, Venus, Earth and Mars, are not very unlike in this respect. Of the four outer planets, Jupiter, the most dense, is only 1.3 times as heavy as an equal volume of water. We have hardly any earth, stones, or metals, so light as this. It is most probable that these four planets are mainly gaseous. For this reason alone, and for several others, it would be unreasonable to think of them as proper abodes of intelligent life.

Whatever may be the number of habitable spheres attending those other suns—the stars—they lie so distant from us that it is idle even to speculate upon the possibility. Truly, among the heavenly host, three thousand millions strong, it would seem strange indeed if none like our Sun had its attendant train of planets. Doubtless there are thousands upon thousands of such worlds, some of them fit for life. Possibly it was of these that our Lord was speaking when He said, "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold. Them also I must bring."

ARE MERCURY, VENUS AND MARS HABITABLE?

TO us, however, the question has narrowed itself to this: Are Mercury, Venus and Mars fit for habitation? The answer requires us to consider for a moment the most important requisites of life. Animals live on plants. Plants require warmth, light, water, carbon compounds, and certain inorganic salts. But are we justified in supposing that in a climate where water would be changed to ice or steam, life would be impossible? It is difficult to conceive that water in the rigid form of ice could serve a living being as a prime part of his makeup. Where would be the flexibility of motion required to circulate the food and carry on the functions of the body? It may indeed be urged that other liquids might take the place of water. But the properties of water are unique. An almost universal solvent,

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its solutions possess electrical and chemical properties so far more wonderful than any others that comparison is impossible.

Aside from water, one must insist on the element carbon as indispensable to life. The spectroscope teaches us that all the heavenly bodies are of the same chemical elements. Our Earth has samples of all of the star-building materials and we know well their combinations. Among all these elements there is none that has the versatility of carbon. Its compounds are innumerable, and of the most bewildering complexity. It only can be the basis of life, which seems to require the most complex of the mysterious intricacies of carbon chain-building for its simplest creatures. These complex life substances, however, are broken down by temperatures like that of steam, and mostly rigid at temperatures like that of ice. Within this temperature range, from freezing to boiling, we must believe lies all the theatre of animal and vegetable life.

Light, too, is necessary, but its requirements are more elastic. Plants grow and animals thrive where the light is a thousand-fold less than daylight, and the full sun is far from being too strong for most of them. All three of our planets would satisfy the requirements as to light. We must test their qualifications as to temperature and moisture. In so doing we ought not to lose sight of the influence of moisture on temperature. The water vapor and clouds in the Earth's atmosphere seem to be responsible for maintaining our average temperature fully 50 degrees Fahrenheit above what it would be if, notwithstanding their absence, the Sun shone no more intensely on the Earth than now. Besides this, the range of temperature between day and night, shade and sunlight, would be enormously increased if the moist atmospheric blanket were removed, as all who live in deserts know.

Without wearying my readers with details, I give in the table some of the salient facts about Mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars, and the Moon:

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	Diameter in miles	Density Water 1	Mass	Gravity	Solar distance miles	Day Hours	Year Days	Reflecting power, Per cent.
Mercury	3030	4.4(?)	0.045	0.2(?)	36,000,000	(?)	88	7
Venus	7700	4.9	0.816	0.8	67,200,000	(?)	225	59
Earth	7918	5.5	1.000	1.0	92,900,000	24	365	44
Mars.....	44230	3.9	0.107	0.4	141,500,000	24⅔	687	15
Moon	2160	3.4	0.012	0.16	92,900,000	656	365	7

Calculating by the squares of the distances we see that the Sun shines about seven times as strongly on Mercury, twice as strongly on Venus, and only four-tenths as strongly on Mars as on the Earth. But considering the reflecting powers also, these numbers become twelve, one and one-tenth, and six-tenths, respectively. Obviously Mercury, like the Moon, as its reflecting power shows, is an airless, waterless waste, and baked besides by twelve-fold torrid heat. There can be no thought of life upon Mercury!

POPULAR MYTHS ABOUT MARS

MANY popular writers have claimed great things for Mars as the abode of life. I cannot accept this view. Director Campbell, of Lick Observatory, in two widely different and extremely beautiful and thorough researches, satisfied astronomers that the water vapor in the Martian atmosphere is less than one-fifth of the trifling quantity which prevails over Mount Hamilton in the coldest clear nights of winter. Thus, without the Earth's moist atmospheric blanket, and with only six-tenths the solar heating, the average Martian temperature should be 60 degrees below zero Fahrenheit. Telescopic observations reveal no clouds on Mars. Its most talked of features are dimly visible markings called fancifully by some "canals," but by observers like Barnard, Hale and others, studying under ideal conditions, regarded merely as irregularities in the planet's contour and soil composition, which at the immense distance are on the limit of telescopic vision, and take on one shape or another according to the observer's interpretation.

In the Publications of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, April, 1918, Dr. Campbell has confronted in par-

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allel columns the descriptions, sketches and conclusions of the two most prominent observers of Martian "canals." There is apparent such widely contradictory testimony as would be expected of two persons who should try to describe the landscape of the Moon without ever having used a telescope. In view of the immense distance, and the equal inadequacy of the telescope for Mars and the naked eye for the Moon, it is probable that both the Martian accounts are as remote as theirs would be from the truth. All observers, of course, are agreed as to the existence of markings and shadings of color on Mars, but to suppose that we see there the engineering works of intelligent beings is merely fanciful. As for the polar caps which form and melt with the Martian seasons, the best opinion is in doubt whether these may be thin deposits of hoar frost from the traces of water vapor in the atmosphere, or frozen carbonic acid gas, which, in view of the low temperture of Mars, is perhaps as probable.

VENUS' FAVORABLE PROSPECT

MERCURY being surely uninhabitable, and Mars most certainly inhospitable, there remains only Venus as a possible abode for life. Here we must be struck by the favorable prospect. A twin planet to the Earth in size and mass, largely covered by clouds indicative of abundant moisture; probably at almost identical temperatures to ours, Venus appears lacking in no essential to habitability. It is only because the clouds have always prevented a telescopic view of its surface that Venus excites no popular interest like that aroused by Mars. If it should be reserved for the early future to exchange intelligence with our nearest planetary neighbor after the Moon, the popular apathy would naturally be changed to the most lively interest.

It is superfluous to remark how eagerly the public would await the development of a common language of communication. What explorer from Africa or Thibet would have an absorbing story to relate comparable for a moment with his who should tell of the scenes and customs

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of another world! Obviously the first rudiments of language, which we could hardly fail to share, would be the numbers one, two, three, etc. These, if repeated by wireless in suitable groups, we may suppose could suffice both to excite the attention and to convince the receivers of the intelligence of the beings of either world. Intelligence, however, is self-evident if wireless signals are actually received, so that we could well hope that in no unreasonable time good will and earnest effort on both sides would evolve a working language.

Then we should ask:

"Do you know if God, the creator and lover of all that He made, lives, and lives eternally? Shall we also live eternally though we die? What proofs have you of these things?"

Such are the fundamentals which one world may tell the other. Centuries can never exhaust the absorbing interest of the details of life in all its forms, the history, governments, society, art, literature, inventions, hope, that may unfold if Venus is inhabited and can commune with us.

BEAUTY'S BURDEN

By CHARLES WHARTON STORK

I am weighed down beneath a clustering load
Of fragrances, rich sounds and lovely shapes,
Like one who toils along a doubtful road
With the glad wealth of purple-glinting grapes.
I seem to stagger from an ancient city
With golden armor, swords, fierce jewels, rings,—
Treasure that stirs deep memories with the pity
Of fate-foiled heroes and forgotten kings.
And then I dream I bear a love-ripe maiden,
Whose folded eyelids flutter; and I thirst
To touch her throat, her lips, till, rapture-laden,
It seems at length as if my heart would burst.
Yet, Beauty-faint, I would not lose one shade,
Or note or scent that Beauty's hand hath made.

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It's Leap Year

The Cosmic Ventriloquist

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ABOVE ALL—PATRIOTISM!

A SEVEN-POINT REMEDY FOR OUR HECTIC AFTER-WAR FEVER

By HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

[*Secretary of the Navy*]

The Secretary of the Navy herewith frankly reviews his own position as the administrative head of the Navy Department during the war. In view of differences of opinion as to the character of his administration, THE FORUM asked Secretary Daniels for an expression of his national spirit. This article is, therefore, his declaration of patriotic endeavor, supported by the facts of his own administrative period.

IN the early days of the war there were just two questions that gave pause to the American people. They never doubted the readiness, valor and fighting quality of our youths. They knew all they needed was training and munitions and ships. As to the first, the young men hurried into the camps with a zeal and a determination to learn the arts of successful warfare that soon made them the equals in fighting power of men trained for a generation to the goose-step.

Could we quickly produce the munitions and supplies for the troops?

That was a question that we asked rather anxiously in the early days of 1917. It was answered by the manufacturers, business men and mechanics in a way that makes their contribution to the winning of the war monumental. Our industries were organized for peace. In an incredibly short time we organized them to produce swords instead of plows, guns instead of harvesters, torpedoes instead of furnaces, aeroplanes instead of automobiles. This miracle was not wrought as rapidly as was desired, but it broke all

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records, and before the end of the war the production for military and kindred purposes was so remarkable as to win the applause of the world, except, of course, those who have the courage of a jack-rabbit in performance.

Could we produce ships? That was the paramount question. With us shipbuilding was a craft, not a trade. There is no better place in the world to build ships than on the Delaware, and yet as a nation we had been so blind as to send our steel abroad for other countries to fashion it into ships to carry most of our own commerce and trade of the world. We had a great Navy Yard in Philadelphia, and yet up to 1914 it had no ways or facilities to construct even lesser naval craft. *We acted as if we thought we could depend upon the Navy of some other country to care for us and meet our responsibility instead of building our own great Navy.*

It was not until 1916 that we really adopted a constructive program for a Navy worthy of the great Republic. In addition to the 250 destroyers, completed or nearing completion, and our dreadnoughts and scout cruisers completed or under construction, we now have under contract sixteen of the greatest fighting ships ever devised. And if we are wise, we will not cease naval expansion until the American Navy is in size and power worthy of the nation's greatness and responsibility. The League of Nations would make possible an end of competitive navy building by free nations, but our wealth and position would require us to furnish as large a proportion of naval strength to guarantee the world's peace and international equality as is supplied by any other nation. The war taught us that our ocean frontiers are not the protection we had supposed.

Could we furnish the ships needed in the early days of 1917 to do all we desired to end the submarine menace and to carry our more than two million troops to Europe?

We could not.

The order and the practise in the Navy was "full steam ahead" with the all too few destroyers we had and the construction of all that old and newly created plants could

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build under whip and spur. We never had as many as we desired, but we utilized every one possible and placed no limit to the number of new craft that could be constructed.

Could we carry our troops fast enough in our own bottoms?

STUPID NEGLECT OF OUR MERCHANT MARINE

OUR stupid neglect of a great merchant marine for a generation compelled us to turn to other sources for help to transport and convoy our soldiers, a task which the Navy personnel undertook, in perfect co-operation with the Army. We put every possible ship of our own into service; we did a great thing in rapidly converting the German interned ships into transports and operating them more efficiently than the Germans could operate them; we secured from Great Britain under contract many ships to transport over a million soldiers, and in the same way secured from France and Italy such help as they could furnish. And still the need was so great, not only for carrying troops, but for supplies and munitions, that giant shipyards were hurriedly constructed and we built merchant ships as rapidly as American skill and American industry could turn them out. Our hindsight is always better than our foresight. If the Shipping Board legislation, proposed by President Wilson in his first term, had been promptly enacted, our need for ships during the World War would not have made us so dependent upon other friendly and associated nations.

What is to become of the American merchant marine now that the stress of war is over?

That is a question of the greatest importance. *We must never again become dependent upon other nations to carry our products in their bottoms, to route merchant marine lines, to fix transportation charges, to control ocean insurance, and to hold the chief share of the ocean-borne commerce of the world.* The prosperity of our country, our peculiar duty to South America, and our obligation to take our proper place in international commerce, demands

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a going forward in our policy of building up, sustaining and enlarging a great merchant marine which will not only serve us commercially but will also give us a valuable naval reserve.

With the adoption of a budget system and the steady improvement in management of public business there will be greater need for experts in commercial methods, and the day is not far distant when none except those who are experts will be able to carry on the Government's fiscal and business affairs. There are many such in Washington now in the public service, most of them self-trained, but new conditions will necessitate the call for many more, and civil service requirements will be broadened to include better knowledge of finance and accounting than has heretofore been regarded essential. There is a big field open to accountants. The pay is higher and the opportunity for advancement greater than ever before. *There are less than 3000 expert accountants in America as compared to 20,000 in England.* Abroad it is reckoned as a profession and is attaining this proper rank in our country.

OUR NAVY'S OPERATIONS WELL HANDLED

THE Navy as a business institution was in close touch with the great captains of industry and the great captains of labor. There was never any friction or lack of team work. As proof that the guiding principles of Navy business are fundamentally sound, the war caused no upheaval in the organization or the methods of the Navy. The enormous increase in activities required only a corresponding expansion of the peace-time framework. When it suddenly became necesssary to acquire large stocks of material, construct additional vessels and in many ways to operate on a larger scale than had ever been done, the same methods which had been tried and proven in peace-time were continued in use. The only need was increased capable personnel, closer co-operation with the business world. The Navy's operations at home and abroad were handled so well as to secure the commendation of the ablest business

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men in America, some of whom have emulated its business system, which, in some respects, may serve as models for the methods of the largest civilian establishments.

In its purchasing methods used for the obtaining of huge quantities of materials of the most varied kinds, the Navy is not excelled by any organization in the commercial world. In the custody and issuance of such materials, not even the railway storekeepers handle the volume or variety that is handled in the Navy. As providers of subsistence on the grand scale, the largest industrial enterprises do not attain the magnitude of the Navy's operations. As recorders and inspectors of the cost of fabricated materials, only certified public accountants of the widest experience stand on a par with the supply officers of the Navy.

When the Armistice was signed many people supposed all the clashes had ended and they would be able to take their ease in the chimney corner. They forgot the wise words of Mazzini: "The morrow of victory is more perilous than its eve." They lacked the understanding, born of experience, expressed by Clemenceau, who, upon signing the Armistice, gave expression to the same truth when he told his people: "We are coming to a difficult time. It is harder to win peace than to win war." After war and after elevation comes the relapse from restraint and discipline, and out of these grow the dangers which confront the world today. The mind of the people has not recovered from shell-shock. There is but one remedy for the hectic fever that inflicts us in the United States today, and that remedy is simple and effective, warranted to kill all germs of anarchy and all bacilli of profiteering. It is, taken in large doses, copious draughts of Americanism, the kind of Americanism which Washington incarnated, Jefferson immortalized in the Declaration, Jackson strengthened, Lincoln illustrated, and Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson have emphasized in their lives and teachings.

THE SEVEN POINTS OF AMERICANISM

AMERICANISM is like a white star with seven points. What are these points?

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First—Americanism means a government of law and order. Its first business is to exist and its existence depends upon submission to will of the majority ascertained in constitutional and lawful ways. There is welcome in America for men of all creeds and faiths, freedom to advocate any policy of government provided it is to be advanced by the ballot and not by lawlessness.

Second—The American pledge of "equal rights to all" must be kept and the decree of "special privileges to none" must be enforced. These two terms define Americanism. From the beginning those obtaining or desiring special privilege have sought to deny equal rights to others. That is the eternal clash. There can be no real Americanism that does not guarantee the fundamental right of equality to all and inhibit special privilege to any.

Third—Americanism means whole-hearted and single-minded devotion to this country by those born here or elsewhere. We found during the war that there were those who were influenced by some other country than America. It is still true that there are citizens of the United States who are thinking more of how this or that question will concern the country from which they or their ancestors came than how it will affect America. They need to be Americanized and told they are un-American if they vote on any issue except as 100-per cent American citizens. We sent a British ambassador home once because he presumed to take part in American politics. If there are men of British blood, or German blood, or Irish blood, or Italian blood, in America whose votes are to be cast in consideration of what the country from which they came is supposed to want America to do, what better right in all conscience has such an alien at heart to find harbor and home in America than the ambassador who was given his passports?

Fourth—The test of Americanism so far as it applies to politicians of all parties, and which must be emphasized, is whether they are appealing to the hyphenated vote and organizing it so it may hold the balance of power in politics, to be thrown for the candidate or party deemed most in

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sympathy with some policy some country over the seas wishes adopted. Let us not deceive ourselves. There is a well organized hyphenated propaganda in America, encouraged by politicians who wrap the flag around their bodies and sing America in so loud a tone they think it will enable them to camouflage their hyphenated politics.

Fifth—Americanism means teaching every child in America to talk and read in the English language. It is the tongue of this Republic, and the sooner every child is American in speech the sooner he will be American in principle. Our public schools are our citadels of patriotism. The quickest way to indoctrinate all Americans in American ideals and in American principles is to make English the only language used by all children in the public schools. This is not incompatible with the optional study of other languages by children of advanced years, for we must never narrow our knowledge of languages and literature of the world's masters of all lands and tongues.

Sixth—Americanism guarantees freedom of religion and freedom of the press and the right of public assemblage. Without the preservation of these bulwarks there would be no Americanism worth saving. Intolerance and bigotry found their early foes in America in Jefferson and Franklin, and there is need to be vigilant lest they be lost by overzeal against bigotry and against license. There is more danger in suppression of free discussions than in bolshevists. We can punish and deport law-breakers and protect ourselves from their anarchy. To prevent free discussion makes for stagnation and dries up the spring at its source.

Seventh—Americanism does not shut all doors and does not keep out from our country properly accredited men and women who love our ways and wish to become Americans. Restrictions of immigration to keep out anarchists and the like is essential, but America must still offer homes and welcome to law-abiding and liberty-loving men and women who will become an integral part of our life. We must recognize that in devotion to the Americanism of equality of opportunity, and devotion to law and order many foreign-

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born set an example to some native-born worthy of emulation. It is not where a man was born, but where his heart is and where his undivided loyalty is that makes the genuine American.

HIGH TIME TO CALL A RECKONING

THESE seven definitions or illustrations of Americanism are in keeping with the inspired teachings of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson in the tense days of war. These two great men, unafraid and red-blooded, cried out against unpatriotic hyphenism and gave a new birth of pride and high resolve to all whose loyalty to America was whole-hearted and unadulterated. Speaking on November 4, 1915, the President, in his own inimitable manner, said: "These men who speak alien sympathies are the spokesmen of small groups upon whom it is high time that the nation call a reckoning." In June, 1916, in Philadelphia, he declared: "'America first' means nothing until you translate it in what you do." Speaking at West Point, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, in June, 1916, he gave this living definition: "Americanism consists in utterly believing in the principles of America and putting them first as above anything that comes into competition with it;" and in Philadelphia, May 11, 1915, he uttered a truth as necessary now as then: "A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular group in America has not yet become an American."

In the same spirit, with his customary vigor, Theodore Roosevelt on July 18, 1918, said: "We must insist there be in this country but one nationality, the American nationality. There can be no fifty-fifty Americans in this country. Americanism transcends every party consideration. No man who is not 100 per cent American is entitled to the support of any party which is itself entitled to be considered an American party." In April, 1917, the month our first flotilla of destroyers sailed across the seas, Mr. Roosevelt, speaking at Oyster Bay, said: "No man can serve two masters in this country at this time. If the man is not an Ameri-

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can, and nothing else, he should be sent out of this country. If he plays the part of sedition in this country he should be shot." In Chicago he uttered this counsel, wise now as then: "We must not only do away with sectionalism but we must see that our land really is a melting pot of citizenship and that all peoples who come here become Americans and nothing else." It was such vigorous arraignment of un-American hyphenism before and during the war that lifted America out of easy-going toleration of those who loved some other flag more than Old Glory and which cemented the nation in the crucible that fitted it to win victory.

Now fighting has ended. Reaction has cooled ardor. Minute-men who stood for no disloyalty are busied with bread-winning. Sedition and devotion to another flag are in hiding. Sabotage to decrease the production of munitions has no incentive. But is there less need for militant, unalloyed, 100 per cent loyalty to America today than in 1917-18? Loyalty today means hatred of the red flag and the flag of profiteering, as, in 1917, it meant war to the death upon every flag opposed to America's indomitable purpose.

BEDTIME

By WILL THOMPSON

So little can be done in one short day:
And yet from sun to sun a prelate dies,
A babe is born, a burning message flies
Around the world, and victors win the fray.
So little can be done—we put away
Reluctantly the book: night's pallor lies
On field and mere, and slumberward each hies;
Asleep, awake, we unknown laws obey.
And we, who dream of doing golden deeds,
Look forth at sunset, or when midnight moon
Rides high above the roofs: night comes too soon
For all the things which wait, like tiny seeds,
The fertile gardens turning, and we see
Lamps lit and bed and long eternity.

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IS LIFE ETERNAL?

SOME THOUGHTS INSPIRED BY HIS VISIT TO AMERICA

By MAURICE MAETERLINCK

[*An Interview with The Forum*]

When men of genius explore psychic phenomena they become either convinced that life is eternal, or they enlist scientific facts to argue an uncertainty. Maeterlinck, however, has the psychic temperament that leads him into a poetic atmosphere where the scientists can do nothing but smile amiably and resist the temptation to succumb entirely to its charm. Maeterlinck shows in this interview that he has a picturesque sympathy with science, when it is not too tiresome.

ETERNITY is nothing new as an idea to those of us who object to the limitation called death, and I find an avidity among the people of this country to study its meaning. But, it has its difficulties. There are so many different viewpoints of what life means, aside from the well known functions of the body. While these functions have an impressive influence upon the super-senses, that is, the gifted senses that make adventurous journeys into real (some people insist unreal) experiences, they may not enter into any scheme of eternal life. The functions of the body cease, that we know. Therefore, these people with super-senses are the mystics, the poets, the seekers for eternity.

To call them enthusiastic explorers, mere idealists, is to deny them the seriousness of their mission. It may not be a part of the principle of divine law that they should be permitted always to understand how their thoughts unfold. If that were possible, our information of the practical certainty of eternal life would be forthcoming.

Idealists vary in their scope of ideals, they swerve like

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graceful skaters in a general course. I have sometimes thought that we are all idealists at heart, all seekers for the secret promised in the thrilling fiction called destiny.

The approaches to eternity are such a labyrinth. There are so many ways people choose for themselves as they pass along the emotional highways of their souls, that no one can say which direction is right. We are still lacking in final proof of any definite evidence that eternal life is more than a hope, deferred to a time when it shall be no mystery.

We should not fail to find eternity, however, for eternal life is promised in the wonderful experiences of human thought. Thought is a real experience that holds the promise to eternity, but many believe with a faith that is blind.

They still believe in the immortality of the soul, but their faith is vague and could not stand the least discussion or test.

In any case, the men of today act absolutely as if they did not believe in the immortality of the soul.

Their hazy belief is based on the sentiment that men have no time to examine proofs that rest mainly on religious beliefs.

As to the matter of time, the conclusion has been forced upon me, in my visit to America, that we may conceive it to be nothing else but an opportunity for perpetual motion. Thought cannot acquire the necessary dignity of poise, housed in the restlessness of American habit. We are like bottles filled by nature with vintages for thought. If the bottle is violently shaken, what happens to the wine? It becomes a frothy, turgid, unrecognizable fluid, without taste or value. This is because its quality has been disturbed.

The simile is the result of my own experience in this visit to America. It has shaken me up, it has temporarily shaken the bottle. One assumes, therefore, that human thought, if it is of acknowledged value, improves to that degree of respect in which we hold it. It is constantly questioning our faith, therefore we must recognize its importance.

Materialists have told us that "without phosphorus no

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brain, without brain no thought." Or, in another way, the materialist adds, "no soul without a living brain." Human thought in refutation has then asked this:

Do we possess a soul independently of the body?

The materialists answer: "No soul without a living brain; the soul is a secretion of cerebral substance."

To this statement in objection, insistently reiterated, we had till now no proof to oppose, nor even any beginning of a physical or scientific proof.

But in the last few years, great events have occurred in the domain of the biological and surgical. In the meantime they provide us at last with the kind of proof we have been seeking. Or at least with the beginnings of proof, which allow us to attack the materialists on their own ground, no longer among the metaphysical clouds. Reviewing briefly these grounds:

As to "No soul without a living brain," we answer, that is, we who find in human thought an adventurous journey into eternity, with new proof. We say in effect:

"No living brain without some precious thought, some mind, some intelligence. Some nameless thoughts, vaster, more complex than any we have, existed before the brains of men or animals were formed."

This is a statement of fact, but after we have succeeded in showing that thought existed before the brain, we shall still have to show that thought can live outside the brain and survive it. This will be less easy.

If we firmly believe that everything is ended with the extinguishment of the brain—everything ends with nothingness, and we must content ourselves and act, consequently, like people under sentence of death.

If, on the other hand, we believe it to be highly probable that thought survives the brain, new vistas of hope opening a whole new state of morals is sure to spring up.

First, however, how can we prove that eternal life is ours? We can reasonably gather reinforcement to human thought in the tomes of the ages.

Before the appearance of man and intelligent animals,

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nature was more active. She had achieved the marvellous inventions that excite our wonder to this day. Where was then the brain of nature?

We are still drawing on her vast stock of knowledge.

Our pumps used every day are nature's pumps of the heart. The connecting rods we use are but the joints of nature.

The *x*-rays are but a form of the power of clairvoyants by which they read letters through sealed metal cases. The wireless apparatus is but telepathy.

From life in its infinitesimal forms, we discover the inventions of nature.

What of nature's inventions in the kingdom of insects? Besides the idea of political and social organization, whence comes, for example, the energy that enables the flea to leap a distance that would be equivalent to 400 or 500 feet by a man?

Whence is derived the power by which a scorpion lives nine months without food? Whence the source of the energy by which the Minotaurus beetle grows to ten times its size in absolute isolation? And occultists draw energy from the circumambient air?

These are circumstantial proofs that nature's riddles are designed to lead human thought to the very borderland of eternal life.

It seems that nature, at least on this little earth, has grown wiser and no longer commits such mistakes as at the beginning, when she created monsters by the thousands that were not fitted to survive. But we shall not cease for a long time to draw on her vast stock of knowledge that she has accumulated through the ages. Thus:

Let us suppose that in consequence of a cataclysm of our globe all the brains and cerebral substance, from amœba to man, were annihilated. Do you believe the earth would remain bare, barren? It is unthinkable.

It is probable that then there would be proof that thought was not dead, that it cannot die, that it takes refuge

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elsewhere, above — in a word, that it is independent of matter.

I said at the beginning that living brain has had previous thought, and then, what follows?

Where was our brain at the moment of conception, when we were visible only through a microscope? Yet we were then ourselves, with virtues and vices, and all that our ancestors had been, with all their wisdom, their habits, their defects and their merits—all swarming within the compass of an invisible speck.

We already bore within us all our children and our children's children through all time, all their destiny, all their future, and in an atom so minute that it almost escaped the microscope.

Human thought, functioning through living brains, has also been functioning since, that is, before and after these living brains passed on in processes of which nature still holds the secret.

The materialists say that thought ceases as soon as the brain is damaged. I doubt this, I even believe that exactly the contrary is true.

In announcing that thought does exist without the brain, I shall take passing notice of the objections of the materialists, who say that thought ceases as soon as the brain is damaged. This is not so. Exactly the contrary is true.

Many cases are on record, proved, where thought has operated though the brain has been reduced to a jelly. There are many such to be found in the medical records.

As to the demonstration of spiritualists, who can say where the deceptions of human thought end, and nature's secrets of eternity begin?

The great disaster of mortal end often leaves those who survive in paralysis of grief. I recall meeting a man who had just encountered this tragedy through the loss of his son. He literally shrivelled up, the flesh fell away from his bones, the light in his eyes grew dull; he was a man resigned to physical and spiritual annihilation. Some years

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later I met him. He had grown young again. He was tall, robust, hearty. A new happiness had come to him. Curiously, I asked him what had happened. He told me that he had seen his son, that he came and talked with him every night, that he saw him, looking just as he always looked. In this marvellous experience, life had apparently been restored to this man. There must be a value in this experience, even though it may be an experimental stage of our faith in eternal life. I am not at all convinced as to the scientific value of this spiritualistic phenomena, when it is interpreted by messages on the ouija board, by table tipping and mediumistic exhibitions.

Occultists throw new light on the subject in their discoveries regarding the astral body—the "unknown guest." We all know that much of our existence is spent in the night of unconsciousness or sub-consciousness, connections that work in the darkness except by chance or in case of illness.

There is the proved case of the illiterate servant who recited whole pages of Sanskrit because she had once heard her master read them aloud. The scientist, De Rochert, made subjects retrace the course of their life's history down to infancy, in the last detail. There are instances, too, in which he wakened memories of former existences, but their verification becomes difficult.

It is time to ask what our ego really is.

An enormous part of our ego escapes us, and we do not realize it. Indeed, our physical ego, what we term ourselves, is but as a pinnacle rising from endless oblivion.

Is not this the time to ask ourselves where our ego really is, where our true identity rests? Which shall we choose, the one of vacillating memories or that greater identity which keeps alive within itself the ego of all who went before us, which no shock, emotion, or even death, can check?

Shall we not find it intact on the further side of the grave? Else why are those recollections preserved and our identity unchanged? Those negatives will be of use somewhere, and where else but in another land?

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What I have called the "unknown guest" demonstrated in various forms of spiritualism owes much to the scientists who have revealed it. No new character is this "unknown guest," but rather an entity that has been forgotten.

Our religions knew it in India, but it is always the same, transcendental, and without it three-quarters of all the phenomena of life would be impossible.

I must mention the peculiar manner in which science has analyzed its demonstrations, which may well prove the imperishable part of our own ego. I speak of mediumism and spiritualism, and the discoveries of Austrian and German scientists—particularly the Austrian scientist's experiments in Odic effluvia.

The progress of official science is always slow. It took one hundred and fifty years for Volta's electricity to be recognized. It was nearly one hundred and fifty years after Mesmer before mesmerism was studied and classified.

The Austrian, Reichenbach, rediscovered the living fire of Zoroaster, and he rediscovered the astral light. Ode is the magnetic fluid which emanates in uninterrupted waves from bodies. Reichenbach was first to discover that "sensitive" persons could see the effluvia in the dark. After experiments he proved that its power varied with the emotions and status of mind of the subjects. He found that it was of bluish color on the right side and yellowish red on the left.

Not only man, but animals, plants and minerals possess it. It can be photographed. It is magnetism as the occultists of every age and country always taught. These emanations show a fluid, which may be the source of the power used in table turning. The table moves only when the rays from the hands become powerful as they converge in the center. When the rays are extinguished the table stops or drops.

This odic fluid can set in motion a clock in a sealed glass vessel. It can move a table weighing two hundred pounds. It may be attributed to the soul or the nerves, but it is of purely spiritual nature. The fluid can be collected

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and substances can be charged with it. A mesmerizer can infuse it into another or can transmit it into the body of a "sensitive." It cannot be destroyed.

A photographic plate was placed in the center of odic fluid in an experiment. Scratches were made on the crossed hands of the subject, on the photographic plate. The subject, hurt, burst into tears, and scratches formed on his hands just as on the plate. We are bound to recognize that the decisive and impelling light has not shown fully.

There is in the universe some kind of thought without brain. We have shown that thought existed before the brain, so why should not thought exist after the brain?

Is all this sufficient to prove that the soul is immortal? If it was, it would turn all the activity of mankind to the imperishable part of ourselves, which all of us neglect today. We should feel the need to strengthen the spiritual side of life and a new system of morality would begin on earth.

All of us would become exemplary men and saints. We have not come to that, but we are on the road leading to it.

RENUNCIATION

By LEONIE DAVIS COLLISTER

This is not I,
But some pale image of my fuller self,
Seeking the radiance of a light
Shut out.

Each vital part of me,
That you have set a-stir,
Lies hushed
Like leaves in stagnant air.

You gave me beauty . . .
It drew so deep a passion from my soul
That I shall bear the scar
Through all eternity.

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NEW IDEALS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

OUR NATIONAL DESTINY IS PRE-EMINENTLY IN THE NEW WORLD

By DR. JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN
[*President of Cornell University*]

HERE in the United States we shall soon be celebrating the tercentenary of the landing of the *Mayflower*. It is a time, therefore, for a revival of those ideals of democracy, liberty, and justice which have made our American republics what they are. The spirit of the new age must not be reaction and still less revolution, but reform and progress. The cure for Bolshevism, whether in Europe or America, is not Bourbonism but the bettering of opportunities for the struggling masses and the removal of the evils which might alienate them from our existing form of constitutional democracy and drive them out into the wilderness to worship the false gods of sovietism, communism and anarchy.

Trade and commerce unite nations, and they also bring them trade rivalries and collisions which may ultimately lead to war. Thus the trade of the world, or of any considerable portion of it, has been a prolific cause of hostilities between nations. It was the rivalry of Rome and Carthage for the trade of the Mediterranean which lead to their life-and-death struggle in the three Punic Wars and to the eventual defeat and annihilation of Carthage. Since the discovery of America there has been among European nations a similar contest for its trade as well as for the trade of the Orient. Portugal, Spain, and Holland have, in their day, each dominated the trade of the world. Since the Napoleonic wars England has been in the ascendant and has enjoyed a predominance in world-commerce. To oust Eng-

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land from that eminence was a leading motive with the German government and people in their declaration of war in 1914. It was the object of Germany not only to gain commercial predominance but to establish a commercial and military domination of the world. She failed in the effort as every nation must fail that defies the rights of mankind.

There is a rivalry in another sphere in which all the rivals are gainers. This is the sphere of knowledge and truth and beauty. In this sphere all devotees gain and all the world gains with them. The intellectual advances made by a man of genius anywhere stimulate and facilitate similar advances on the part of other men of genius the world over. Copernicus and Newton and Darwin and Pasteur have not only shed renown on their respective countries but advanced the civilization of mankind.

The same thing is true in the realm of art and beauty. Every one may enjoy music, painting and architecture without lessening the enjoyment of others. One may say of them as the poet says of love:

"The more I give the more I have, for both are infinite."

In the sphere of thought, and knowledge, and culture, we may regard the nations of the world as constituting one great family, the members of which, in enriching themselves with ideal goods, are also enriching all the others. The pursuit of these ideal ends necessarily promotes union and brotherhood. The greater progress, therefore, the nations of the world make in the things of the intellect and imagination, the stronger will be the ties that bind them together, and the weaker the disruptive force of the pursuit of material objects.

THE SAVAGERY AND MADNESS OF WAR

WAR is a survival of the ape and tiger in mankind. The further we advance in civilization, and the more clearly we recognize that the best things in life are not the things we eat and wear and in general use for the maintenance of our bodily existence, but the things that belong to

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our intellectual and moral nature — truth, knowledge, beauty, goodness, and the like — the more remote will be the danger of war and the more vital and indissoluble the ties which bind us together in the unity of peace and friendship.

The life of man in society and the state is perhaps the most vital subject of contemporary thought and interest. As in the 17th and 18th centuries the greatest thinkers of the world gave themselves up to mathematical and physical research, and in the 19th to biological, so in the 20th century they are turning to man—and especially to man as a social and political being—exploring his nature, investigating the institutions he has established and assessing their value both in the scale of efficiency and by the standard of right and justice.

Many good people are perturbed. Some tremble for the ark of the Lord. And our leaders know no remedy but force and suppression.

Cannot error be overcome by truth? Can anything else overcome it? Shall we cower in the presence of revolutionary socialism and bolshevism when we might learn from history and politics that our own system of constitutional democracy is the best government ever devised by the art of man? No doubt, like every growing organism, it is in need of continuous adjustment to its environment; but are we so blinded by ignorance and so perverted by Bourbonism that we cannot survey these natural and necessary modifications, whose effect is altogether ameliorating, with the equanimity and even the satisfaction of reasonable beings and good Americans? Because nations, with the worst government imaginable, have in this terrible crisis in the history of the world become political madhouses, must we, with the best of actual governments, lose our heads and join in their grimaces and contortions?

STIFLING FREE THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION A MISTAKE

LET us trust the sound sense of the American people. Let us meet the folly and errors of the fanatics with

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the all-conquering weapons of fact and reason. If the Bolsheviks rule Russia by force and murder, let America, now as heretofore, govern herself by free discussion and enlightened public opinion and the deliberate vote of the majority. Our laws must of course be enforced, and sedition rigorously put down. But America cannot save her soul by stifling free thought and inquiry, or by deporting ark-loads of alien revolutionists, or denying constitutional right to radical and even mischievous citizens and parties.

We shall find, in the future, means of improving our existing institutions at many points. There will be better and juster methods of taxation; property will be more widely diffused and more equally distributed and the power of wealth curtailed; pauperism and destitution will be eliminated; public service will cease to be the arena and the means of private profit; equalization of opportunity will become a fact and not merely a shibboleth; education will be provided for the children in the country not inferior to that now offered in city schools; youth of talent in all economic groups will be selected and given the highest possible education; spiritual and intellectual callings will not rank lower than mechanical and industrial pursuits; and government, more democratic than ever, will be no longer a reckless strife of parties but an intelligent and businesslike ordering of the public life of the community and a union with other civilized communities for the promotion of peace and good will and prosperity throughout the world.

To this task of political development and social amelioration the countries of all the Americas are summoned alike by their humanitarian aspirations and their political traditions.

There is undying truth in the great ideal of the French Revolution; Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. It is not enough to make men free. It is not enough to remove legal restrictions and equalize economic opportunities. Man is more than a creator and consumer of economic goods.

Like the ideal of intellectual progress, the ideal of social and political progress inevitably tends to draw to-

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gether the peoples of our countries in the bonds of a closer union and friendship. And the pursuit of a common social and political ideal has not only a unifying tendency on the nations who devote themselves to it but by its lofty character it elevates and dignifies them. In the language of Scripture, "righteousness exalteth a nation." I find it a highly encouraging and inspiring reflection that in proportion as our nations devote themselves to the high tasks of political and social reform, they at the same time raise the dignity of human life and promote the brotherhood of the human race.

GREED AND GRAB GAME OBSOLETE

THE old internationl system with its partial alliances, its bullying of the weak, its game of greed and grab, will not longer satisfy the plain people in all lands who have dreamt that this war should end war and who have been inspired by their faith and ideals. If their hope is balked, then Russia will not be the only country in which the fountains of the political deep overflow and overwhelm existing institutions with a revolutionary flood.

In the reorganization of international relations, which is now the great question before the world, the choice must be between alternative policies. It is impossible to have the advantages of both policies and the drawbacks of neither. The nations may continue as in the past to live each their own sovereign life with occasional and temporary alliances, as expediency may dictate, with other sovereign states, but bearing the responsibility only of their own individual interests, with little or no regard for the welfare of the society of nations as a whole, and with no obligation to foresee and avert causes of misunderstanding, strife, and war as they may from time to time develop in and through the interaction of these rival, self-contained, and independent powers. That is the course which the nations of the world have followed during the latter centuries of human history. It is not, however, the only possible system of international relations nor the only one which has ever been practiced.

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History furnishes many examples of one nation subjugating other nations, and even establishing a world peace by means of an extensive and successful system of domination of conquered peoples. That was the old Roman conception of empire. And that was undoubtedly the kind of empire and the kind of peace which Germany, for at least a generation, had dreamed of establishing, first in Europe and then throughout the world. The will of other peoples should be subject to the will of Germany and the Temple of Janus would be closed by the power of Germany.

The result of the world-war has shattered the German dream of world-domination by force. But the organization of the nations of the world to promote common national interests and maintain peace may be attempted not by means of force and subjugation but by the voluntary union of free, independent, democratic nations. And if the yearning of the peoples of the world for friendly international relations and peace are not to be balked and disappointed, this is the course which must now be pursued.

COLLAPSE OF OLD INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

I ASSERT that the system of international relations under which we and our fathers have lived has broken down; that its collapse was due to the change of economic, commercial, financial, social and political conditions in the modern world; that any attempt to re-establish it will be rendered nugatory by the continued existence of these conditions; that the sound instinct of the plain people of the world in all nations yearns and clamors for a new and better world-order; and that if this instinct is disregarded and overridden by statesmen the gravest consequences are certain to ensue.

The world cannot go back to the 19th century system of a European balance of power and the hermitary seclusion of America. How can the balance of power be re-established in Europe when Germany has been vanquished and when Russia, and Austria-Hungary, and Turkey have been disintegrated and resolved into their constituent parts and

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replaced by numerous independent nationalities? And how can America resume her ancient isolation after the war in which it has been demonstrated that, owing to new methods and means and instrumentalities of warfare, on land and sea and air, no great nation can probably ever again remain neutral but must, in defense of its interests and security and for the maintenance of law and justice, be inevitably drawn into the conflict whenever two or more great nations of the modern world resort to the dread arbitrament of war?

From the political point of view the principal result of the war has been the democratization of Europe. The kaiseristic and militaristic empire of Germany has gone; the military power of the Hapsburg dynasty is broken and the congeries of nationalities it forcibly held together have fallen asunder; the czaristic and autocratic empire of Russia has collapsed and no one knows how many independent nations may arise on its ruins; gone also is the power of the sultan, the Mohammedan associate of those recent Christian despots; and the ancient peoples of Syria, Palestine, Armenia, Arabia and Mesopotamia have shaken off the shackles of their terrible bondage.

But while democracy has gained immensely by the resolution of Europe into its original atoms of nationality, the risks of war have been greatly increased by this multiplication of independent nations. The territories of three or four great empires of the past are now dotted over with groups of embryo states. If we may judge from our own experience in America the next step in the process of their development will be by way of federation. If such a development occurs, however, it will be a matter of growth and time. Meanwhile these numerous states will exist as separate and individual political entities. America will be almost as much interested in the maintenance of peace among them as England or France. For America can never forget that it was an attack on a little country like Serbia which brought on the great cataclysm under the force of which the world has been reeling since 1914.

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NO PARTISANSHIP IN TREATY DISCUSSIONS

IT is absurd, and it is false, to treat the Senate discussions over the Treaty as the mere product of partisanship. No doubt party spirit was present in these debates as it is necessarily present in all debates on fundamental questions of government and policy. But even if the Covenant of the League of Nations had been discussed in an assembly of passionless angels there would have been no escape from the fundamental difficulties which the Senate discussions have brought clearly to light.

No nation in the world is more desirous of universal peace than the United States. But I have never believed that even for the maintenance of peace the United States should or would forcibly intervene in the brawls and quarrels of nations, big and little, in every quarter of the world. Our national destiny is pre-eminently in the New World. I recognize, however, that, owing to the advance of science and inventions and the multifarious social and commercial relationships established thereby, all parts of the world have been brought together and the United States will not in the future live so exclusively to itself as it has done in the past. Yet when this change in old conditions is fully recognized I nevertheless believe that the American people will refuse to engage in Old World wars unless they menace the interests of the United States or violate the laws of nations and the dictates of right and humanity.

Now if this be a correct analysis of the sentiment of the American people and a correct forecast of their future policy, it is important that it should be announced in the Treaty. If no limitations to the international obligations put upon us by Article X are adopted the nations of Europe will assume that we are in the future to be as much participants in their quarrels as England, France, Italy or other of their own countries. Reservations to Article X are therefore necessary, first, to make the international obligations assumed conform to the sentiments of the American people, and, secondly, to inform the other nations of the world of the actual nature and extent of the obligations we assume.

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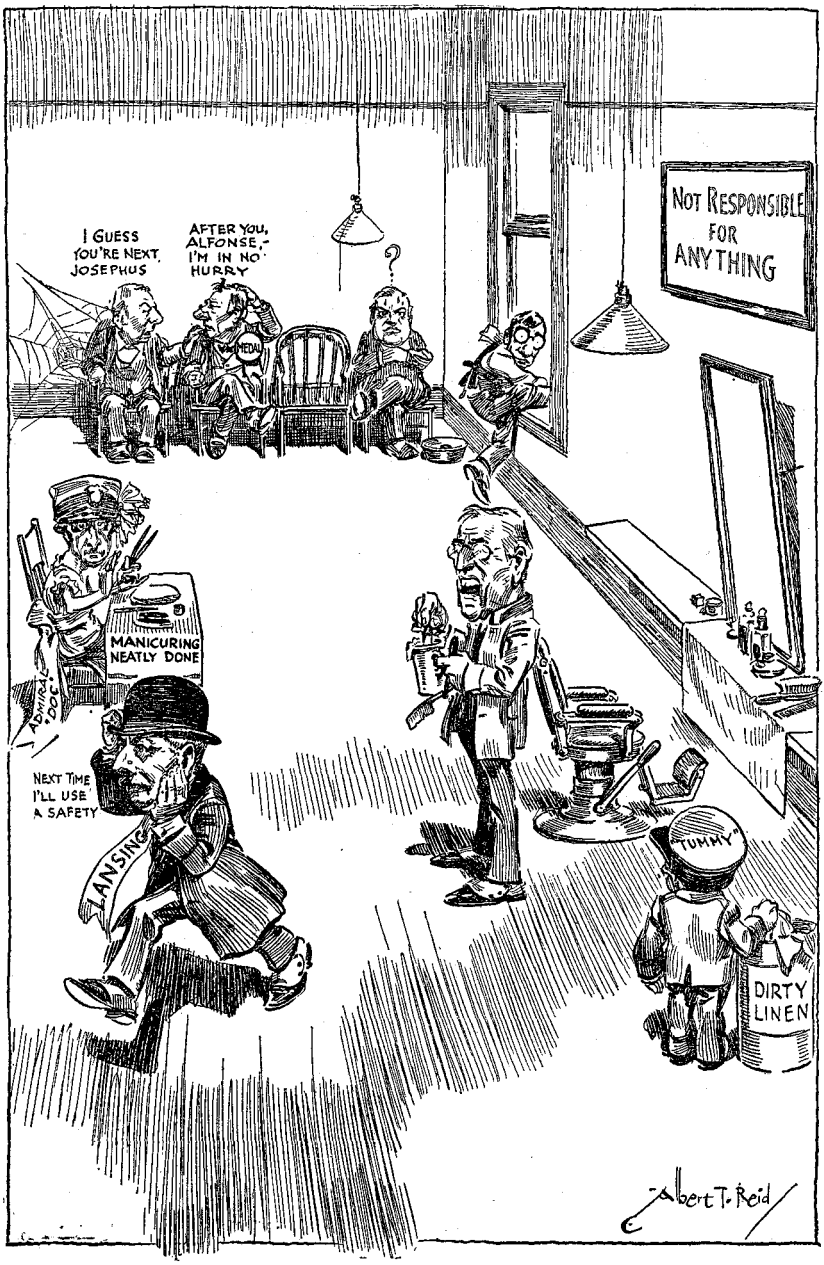

The International Barber Shop

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POINTS TO BE SAFEGUARDED IN TREATY

ALONG with this limitation of the international obligation assumed by the United States under Article X the reservations should set forth that even these limited obligations would not be undertaken in any particular case, no matter how clearly it fell within the terms of the Article, except by action of Congress which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or to authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States.

If these points were safeguarded, by suitable reservations to Article X, I think the other objections to the Treaty could easily be disposed of. Much could be said on the proposed Senate reservations relative to the limitations of armaments and the arbitration of questions affecting the national honor and vital interest. The former of these provides that, after the plan of limitation of armament has been adopted, the United States reserves the rights to increase its armaments without the consent of the Council whenever we may be threatened by invasion or engaged in war. Of course, if we insist on this reservation for ourselves, we must be willing to grant it to other nations, and if the reservation becomes universal then the plan for the limitation of armaments practically falls to the ground.

Substantially the same observation may be made on the proposal that the United States shall reserve to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions affect its honor and its vital interests, and declare that such questions are not, under this Treaty, to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the League. If we insist on this reservation, it must also be conceded to other nations. That practically makes the provision nugatory. The United States, however, has throughout its history championed the policy of arbitration for the settlement of national disputes, and if other nations are now ready to accept that policy, even to the extent of submitting to arbitration questions affecting their honor and vital interests, I believe the American people would and should lead such a movement.

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OIL, SHOULD IT BE NATIONALIZED?

WHY OUR GOVERNMENT COULDN'T ENGAGE IN WILD-CATTING

By AGNES C. LAUT

NATIONALIZATION is one of the mistaken impressions among legislators who are appointed to investigate private business.

To nationalize the speculative elements of the earth, or the sky, or the sea, requires divine gifts, and when it comes to adapting these mysteries of nature to government control, men are not god-like. What I mean to say is, that the discovery of an oil well, of a gold mine, of precious stones, is an accident of human industry, not a business certainty. Therefore, it seems to me absurd for any government to attempt to nationalize the product of a miracle. Practically, that is what the private speculative organizations that operate oil lands, mines, and other precious minerals are doing, they are gambling on a miracle.

And yet, at one of the hearings of the Senate Committee investigating Mexican affairs, a witness volunteered the remark that he didn't see why oil and precious mineral lands should not be nationalized in operation as easily as prohibition is put into effect, or as the railways were taken over for national operation during the war. There is such a wide difference between government control of railroads above the earth, and government control of the hidden treasures under the earth, that it requires only a slight examination of the facts to see this. In fact, my own investigation of this question leads me to the certain conclusion, that if oil and precious mineral lands were operated by the government tomorrow, there would be no gold coin in circulation, nor could any citizen be able to operate even a Ford car after two years of such nationalization. It is by no

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means a legislative idea. In its ultimate consequences it would compel a Sovietism in this country akin to that of Russia. It is practically the plan of the I. W. W.'s.

It will be remembered, in the early days of agitation, when the I-Won't-Works had brought about idleness in the construction camps of the Grand Trunk and Canada Northern in British Columbia, they made this very threat—that within ten years they would paralyze every wheel of industry; and their subtle process of reasoning was perfectly sound. What they meant was, that if they could permeate public sentiment with the idea of nationalizing oil, gold and silver lands, they could spike every wheel of industry within six months.

HOW NATIONALIZATION WOULD WORK

LET'S see what their plan of nationalization would do for Americans.

Not a naval vessel would be afloat on the sea. Ninety per cent of our great merchant marine would lie idle at the docks. Five hundred thousand longshoremen would be out of work on the Atlantic and Pacific. Whether locomotives used coal or oil for fuel wouldn't matter much; for if the oil-burning ships were tied up, warehouses, elevators, and storages would be so blockaded that the railroads would have to refuse freight at the Western and Mid-Western points. If the supply of gold were not sufficient to settle the international trade balances each year, the individual banks would not dare take the risk of sight drafts on foreign buyers abroad, who might be able to pay back in trade the value of what they might buy in American goods. American factories, steel, cotton, wool, leather, paper, flour, all depending on export trade, would be paralyzed. Foreign exchange would stop, the banks would crash—all commerce would come to a dead stop.

This process of reasoning is not mine; it is the conclusions of the I. W. W. Understanding its purpose, from their viewpoint, it was perfectly sound reasoning, too. And, if it was true reasoning before the war, how much

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greater is the danger of its threat against law and order in this country since the war? To my mind the whole fabric of the modern economic world depends on the freest, swiftest interchange of trade between America and Europe to restore a world, partly destroyed by war.

All this agitation concerning the nationalization of nature's hidden products proceeds from the reasoning made by these young agitators of the I. W. W. It was in their propaganda circulated in the railroad camps of British Columbia six or seven years ago. It is the same propaganda being used now in the United States and Russia.

If we want to roll American civilization back to the conditions of the 16th century in Europe, or to exchange our present government for the government of Russia, all we have to do is to follow the I. W. W. advice as to nationalization in the operation of the three basic miracles of modern trade—oil, gold, silver. Once nationalize these treasures of the earth, and in six months we will be back exactly where the Indians were when their medium of exchange was wampum. I never hear a parlor socialist advocate this process of nationalization but I want to ask him if we wishes to become an Indian in an American desert. Is he prepared to junk his motor car, to do all his street-car riding on foot, to see 90 per cent of all grist mills shut down, to feed the laborers thrown out of jobs, to do without milk, fruit and vegetables if he happens to live in a city of over half a million people, where food and fuel must be brought from a hundred-mile radius—which farm wagons obviously can't haul today? Is he prepared to take care of 500,000 dock laborers thrown out of work, and another 500,000 seamen rioting for food and jobs?

These facts were thoroughly examined a couple of years ago, when certain features of a tax bill threatened to stop all prospecting for oil, gold and silver; but we were so deep in the war at the time that the public missed the significance of the fact. There is no more searching analysis of the evils embodied in nationalization than in the application of oil, gold or silver, to its plan. The difficulties

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that must be overcome in the harnessing of these products to any nationalizing plan make the evils of it clearer than any other example.

By some alchemy of divine genius, gold, silver, oil, are indiscriminately hidden in the earth. Remember this basic fact; get it clear, or you will be howling presently about gasoline costing you 73 and 85 cents a gallon — as it cost France and England during the war for busses and jitneys— when it used to cost you from 18 to 28 cents. One other fact we must keep clearly focused. Whether you concentrate your analysis of the consequences in nationalization of gold, upon the first nugget found in the hills by the prospector, or upon the tin box filled with coin minted in London or New York, the result is the same. To nationalize this commodity is to destroy it.

NATURE'S HOARDS NOT EASY TO GRAB

LET'S see what chances the government takes in attempting to control either oil, gold or silver.

Begin with the lone prospector. I prefer to begin with him because I happen to come from a land where 99 per cent of the mineral lands were still owned by the nation, when I was there. In that sense they were nationalized. But, nationalization alone did not produce the gold. What did produce it was the endurance and adventure of some lone son of outdoors, who went out into the wilds with a gunny sack of grub on his back, and a pick, spade and mallet over his shoulder. The fact that the gold and silver lands of Kootenay and Slocan and Klondike belong to the nation and had gold from the beginning of time, did not produce gold.

The prospector didn't find things as they ought to be; I am only telling about them as they are. This young adventurer usually "struck" some frontier town "dead broke." He liked to gamble, and he was young. He knew all the chances that were against him. He knew that 99 out of 100 failed to find even the mineral float, that might only indicate an undiscovered mine somewhere up stream where the float

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washes down. The thing that kept him facing such odds was the chance of striking a colossal fortune. Ablaze with this gambling chance, he would hunt up a friend in the frontier town, often the bartender, or the keeper of a general store, and offer to go fifty-fifty on whatever he found, for an outfit of food and clothes for six months, and tools, dynamite and powder.

Do you see any government, or any state, taking such chances, 99 to 100, in a nationalizing scheme? Has it ever been done in the history of the world? Would the taxpayers authorize the government to invest in any expedition that had in it 99 per cent chances of loss? These are facts, not theories.

Even supposing he succeeds, finds a bit of stone with a sparkle on one side, in the bed of a stream. He washes it, knocks it open with his mallet, and finds it's galena, or primrose silver, or a pure gold nugget, or a gold speck in a white quartz that will require a crushing mill to get it out, or pyrites that may need an expensive smelting process to separate the copper from the gold. Still, he hasn't found his mine yet. He has found only signs of a pay streak higher up. Then follow all the shrewd plans of a hunter pursuing the trail of a treasure, fearing pursuit by other men.

The greatest silver mine in Slocan was found exactly in this way. The search may last a day, or a year, or a lifetime of years, and no mine may be found. But the gamble lures the prospector on. He wouldn't take a job. No government could pay him wages that he would accept for this service.

The men who found the Slocan silver and the Kootenay gold had been out twenty years and six months before they found a mine. In one case the outfitter was a bartender in Spokane, in the other a storekeeper on the Arrow Lakes.

THE FIVE ELEMENTS IN MINING

WHEN the prospector merely finds the mine, he still isn't yet a millionaire, by 999 chances out of 1000. Tunnels have to be driven in the earth by expensive ma-

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chinery, more of them than have ever produced pay metals. The vein may peter out. The outfitter has to hunt up a capitalist who will go fifty-fifty on another gamble with him to supply the test machinery. You have to build a stamp mill, a smelter or a crusher. Sometimes the small capitalist hunts up the big mining companies and sells to them outright, or raises capital by forming a stock company.

Now you can see readily what an accumulation of speculative elements have already occurred. There are five elements distinctly visible in the mining pyramid of chances. There is the prospector, 99 per cent of whom fail; the outfitter, 99 per cent of whom lose; the small capitalist, 999 per cent of whom lose; the companies formed, many of which fail, and the big mining interests, who will only touch certainties.

How are you going to lure them into the economic paradise promised by nationalization?

Certainly the prospectors would not consent to it, as I have shown. You can't nationalize free men; you can only nationalize theories. The proposed tax bill presented a few years ago failed, because it threatened to tax the top of this pyramid so heavily that no profits would be found at the bottom of the pyramid. The prospectors opposed it all over the world, from the Klondike to South Africa. They threw their picks and shovels aside and stampeded for the adventure of the war. The supply of new mines fell off. The production of gold and silver fell off. The world knows the rest, in a program of high prices, of inflated currency not based on gold. We call it the high cost of living, and yet as our financial pyramid grows higher we are wondering what will happen if it should tumble over. How about wampum?

When the tax upon the prospector doesn't leave enough profit for him when he wins, he quits his job.

FOLLY TO NATIONALIZE OIL

THE proposal to nationalize oil lands meets exactly the same problem. The lone prospector of gold mines,

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in the oil lands becomes "a wild-catter." In all other respects he performs the functions of his adventure exactly as a mining prospector, excepting that the miner may carry his gold nuggets in his pocket, the oil prospector has no such simple proof. If he finds an ocean of oil, it wouldn't be worth a cent a barrel to him without pipe lines, storage tanks, docks, rail terminals, tank cars, tank steamers and—an accessible market. Of course he never finds an ocean of oil; he only finds oil signs. When he does he has to find a man to put up the money for a drill. He may drill four hundred holes before he strikes the exact pool where the oil lies. In the richest oil fields in the world the proportion of useless holes to yielding wells is 2 to 1. And more and more it is becoming evident that the great gushers come only from great depths—from 1,200 to 2,600 feet. For one, two or three years wells may be found that yield only three or four barrels a day, not enough to "wet the whistle of the drill." Mexicans knew for 350 years there were oil signs in Mexico; but that didn't produce the oil. Cecil Rhodes spent $450,000 drilling for oil in Mexico and gave it up as a non-paying streak, or freak.

You can't nationalize the prospector, or the "wild-catter." You can't force him. He will only work on the 1 per cent chance of making a great fortune. Eliminate him and what becomes of the world supply of oil? If he stops hunting for oil signs there won't be any oil, because every oil pool in the world becomes exhausted and is being exhausted. This is a matter of record. There are wells that promise a flood of oil, which took salt water either from the terrific suction of the depth or from the exhaustion of the pool itself. Every authority on oil asserts that if the world's known oil area be worked at its present speed, all the known oil pools will be exhausted in thirty years. There is an accelerated demand of 9 per cent more oil needed each year, which means that the known oil pools of the world will be exhausted in fifteen years. The finding of new oil pools depends upon the "wild-catter."

You can't nationalize him, and you can't nationalize

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an oil well that is spouting $100,000 a day and not a cent tomorrow. Imagine any government investing in an oil well based upon a valuation promised of $100,000 net a week for ten years—and then have it spout salt water the day after the deal was made!

Then again, how much more difficult it will be to nationalize the drillers, and the men who put up the money for the drillers. Drilling may cost $40,000, or it may cost $90,000, and you may drill four years before you strike an oil pool. Big rewards are found only at great depth. Seventeen hundred feet was the average depth for a good paying gusher. Today 2,400 feet is an average depth for big producers. The deeper you go the more it costs, after the first 700 feet, owing to technical difficulties.

Can you see any government able to nationalize the speculative element of drilling oil wells? This is only the second step in the process. The driller is the second factor on whom the world supply of oil depends. What government is eager to subsidize the experiment of drilling on an unproved oil field?

Of course, the argument for nationalization takes its strength from the point where oil is found. But, surely a valuable oil well, with the oil gushing from it, can be nationalized?

Let's see how it works out.

DOHENY TOOK TREMENDOUS CHANCES

DOHENY, early in his operations, found such a gusher, and his friends told him that if he had another gusher prosperity of the same sort it would drive both him and them into bankruptcy. He had paid between $1 and $1.50 an acre for 448,000 acres of land, which had lain full of oil unworked and undeveloped and un-nationalized for exactly 379 years. He had bought from private owners, whose Mexican titles dated back to 1581, and who regarded him as a fool for paying any such price for useless lands. He had brought in one well good for 50 barrels a day. For four years the wells averaged from 10 to 50 barrels a day, when

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at 1450 feet they struck a pool that gave 1000 barrels a day. He had at that time expended $2,800,000, but had not yet found a market for a gallon of oil. The oil was not worth a cent a barrel without pipe lines to convey it to terminals, storage tanks to hold, tank steamers and tank cars to carry it to market. When he got it to one American market oil was selling at 3 cents a barrel in Beaumont, Texas.

Do you see any government, or any taxpayers, sanctioning that kind of nationalization on the blind faith of a gambler's chance? In fact, at that very period, the oil experts of Mexico had declared oil could never be produced in paying quantities in Mexico; so that if nationalization had existed then the oil industry of Mexico would have been strangled while being born. Nationalization would have killed Mexican oil development then and there. The government literally condemned the efforts of these American gamblers to go ahead. They were afraid the fiasco would hurt the credit of the country. Doheny's stockholders began to sell out in a panic. What would government placeholders have done? Scuttled from what promised to be a failure, stopped oil development and saved their faces. But Doheny now spent another $1,700,000 putting in pipe lines, storage tanks and pumping stations. And then, after nine years of "forlorn hope," came on a great gusher, 70,000 to 100,000 barrels a day. Other gushers were found by Doheny and other foreign operators, up to gushers of 261,000 barrels a day, and up rose the demand "to nationalize oil holdings."

MEXICO'S VAST UNDEVELOPED OIL LANDS

NOW, of all Mexico's oil lands, only 15 per cent have yet been tested, and 85 per cent lie undeveloped and unexploited. New York and London are today literally infested with Mexican oil-land owners trying to sell their holdings to "foreign exploiters," who have been accused of "robbing Mexicans." The thing would be comical if it were not disgusting. Ever since I went to Mexico to report on economic problems for Canadian and American financial

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interests I have been besieged with Mexican oil-land owners, who ask me, on some pretext of interesting "Wall Street, who has robbed Mexicans," in some charitable project of which I happen to be an unsalaried secretary—please note the word "unsalaried"—for letters of introduction, or the entree, to what the Mexican press calls "the robber barons of the United States." I fell for it just once, but immediately on gaining access to "the robber barons," instead of asking aid for earthquake sufferers, or destitute children, of whom forty in a night have died of cold and starvation in the streets of Mexico City this winter, charity was not mentioned at all; but beautiful blueprint drawings of Mexican oil lands for sale were laid out for the "predatory interests" to buy—buy—buy.

The pretext is obvious.

If by nationalization is meant the 85 per cent of unexploited, undeveloped oil lands, then let Mexico go to it. She has an ample area on which to prove out her theory.

But if by nationalization is meant the 15 per cent of tried out oil lands on which American, Canadian, English, Scotch and Belgian operators have already expended three hundred millions cash, the pretext is too absurd. It is a little too closely allied to another like pretext to "nationalize banks," when Carranzista officers jimmied open the safes of two foreign banks and confiscated $54,000,000 in gold.

Also note two other points exactly akin to the nationalizing of gold mines. Of the 153 American companies operating oil wells in Mexico only one has ever made a cent of profit. The others may make profit if they are allowed to go on; but not if they are nationalized. Of the 150 other foreign companies operating oil wells in Mexico only one has ever paid dividends. The others may yet; but not if they are nationalized.

The whole proposition masks the Bolsheviki creed, not to create and produce new value from the base up; but rather to seize what the other fellow's daring and perseverance and risk have already won and produced with

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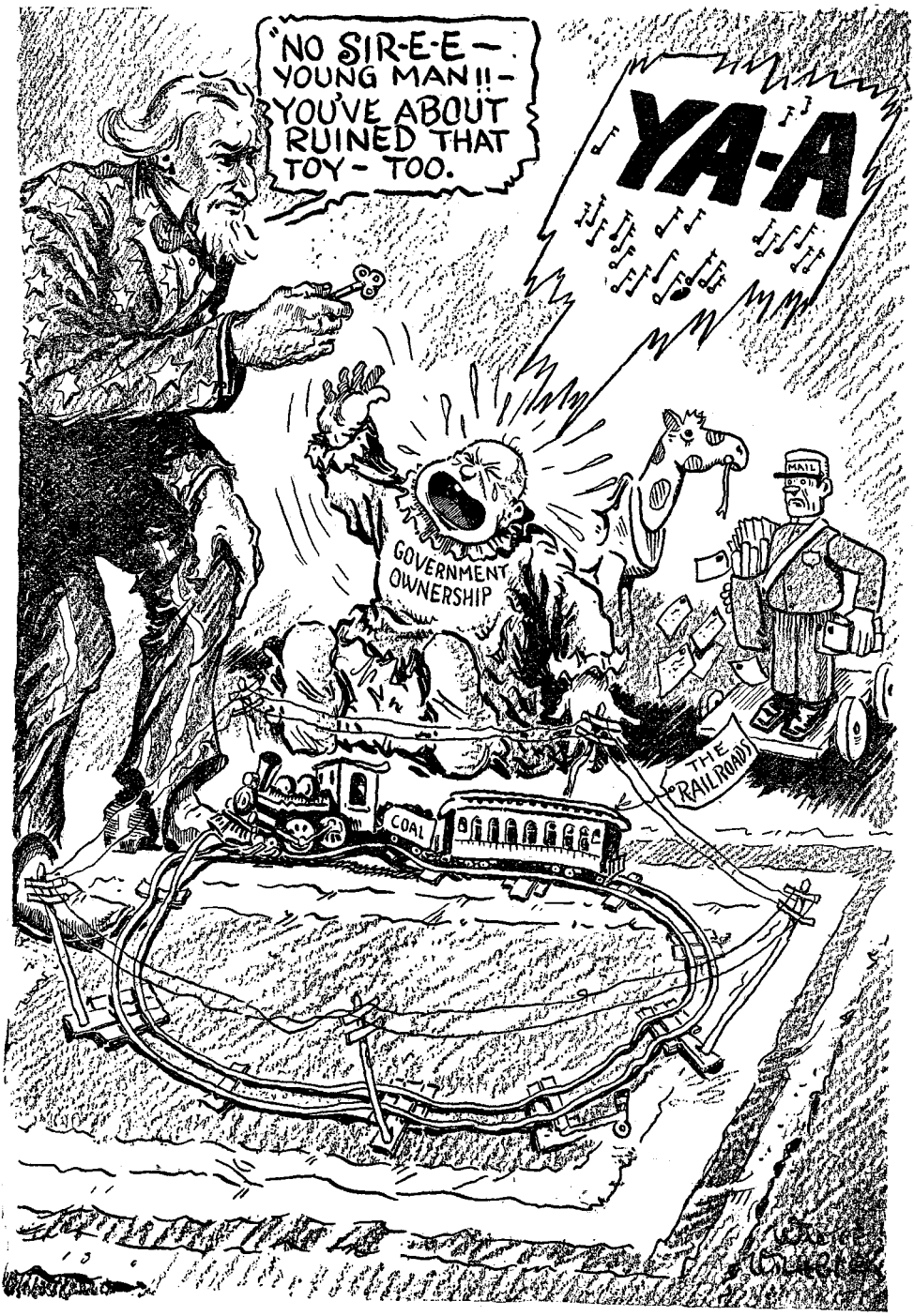

We Should Be Careful What We Give the Children

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chances 999 per cent against him. It is simply another name for theft.

So cheaply, so subconsciously, so unconsciously, are we drugged with a supersaturation of Bolsheviki doctrine, that, like the hashish victim, we do not recognize the poison till we are its victims. The lone prospector for gold in the hinterlands of the wilderness, the lone sign seeker for oil in the jungles of the tropics, did more for the Allied victory than enranked army or navy; and no one had yet laid a guerdon on his grave in the wilderness, though he, too, was following the flame in his soul of a glorious adventure for freedom.

MASKS

By FREDERICK B. BARD

I have seen Grief so anguished that it laughed,
And Joy profoundly thankful so it wept;
Love frenzied 'till it most resembled Hate,
And Hate so deadly it caressed as Love.
In such strange guises do our souls pursue
Their journey through this masquerading world.

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THE PEACE TREATY ANALYZED

IS IT A CAMOUFLAGE FOR SECRET POWER?

By HON. GEORGE H. MOSES

[*Senator from New Hampshire*]

Whatever doubts remain in the open American mind as to the sincerity of the Treaty of Versailles in support of a doctrine called the League of Nations, there is no doubt in Senator Moses' mind that the famous document is a diplomatic camouflage for the five Great Powers. In his analysis the Senator reveals the comparative character of this Treaty with the Treaty of Berlin.

DISRAELI, returning from the Congress of Berlin, summed up his labors there in the laconic phrase, "Peace with honor." Yet neither peace nor honor flowed from the Treaty of Berlin, certain conditions of which—unenforced and unenforceable—contained and disseminated the germ of the recent war. It is hoped that none of the phrase-makers of today will be permitted to repeat Disraeli's fatal error of word and deed.

This Treaty of Versailles is as menacing to the peace of the world today as the Treaty of Berlin was forty years ago. Though the main task of the treaty is to impose the terms of peace on Germany, it is interdependent for that peace upon certain conditions to be imposed upon the world by a League of Nations. Naturally it follows that a treaty such as this cannot be self-operated; and we have been assured that we shall find that everywhere throughout its manifold provisions its framers have felt obliged to turn to the League of Nations as the indispensable instrumentality for the maintenance of the new order which this instrument

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purposes to set up. The evidence of the manner in which these great results are to be achieved through the indispensable instrumentality of the League of Nations will be found in a study of the text of the treaty itself. In that study we shall find that the League of Nations appears to be a phrase with no definite control of the many issues involved under its title. The signatories to the instrument have separated themselves into two distinct groups.

1. The principal allied and associated powers, comprising the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan.

2. All the other belligerents, to the number of twenty-two, constituting, with the principal powers mentioned above, the allied and associated powers.

There is a third group we find occasionally mentioned, described as the "Allied Powers," presumably the former entente.

THE LEAGUE'S DELEGATED POWERS

ALL these three groups are found to perform vital functions in the treaty, stipulations for which natural thought would turn to the League of Nations as the indispensable instrument. This, however, is not the case, and it is interesting to discover how little the League of Nations really has to do with the great world changes that are presented as a part of our treaty of peace with Germany. For instance, in the delimitation of the new frontier line between Belgium and Germany, it is a commission of seven persons, five of whom are appointed by the principal allied and associated powers, the Big Five, who will assume this task—not the League of Nations.

In the matter of the renunciation of the privileges conferred upon Germany with relation to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, it will be also the Big Five who will make this adjustment—not the League of Nations.

In conditions of controversy relating to the return of Alsace-Lorraine to French possession, the arrangements will be made by the Central Rhine Commission—an organization set up years ago under the old order and now made

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use of in the light of a new day. The League of Nations will not function in this international affair.

In the establishment of the new Czecho-Slovak state, which was made the subject of special comment in our chief negotiator's report of his doings at Paris, it is again the Big Five, the principal allied and associated powers, who, through a commission of seven members, five to be named by them, will trace the frontier line between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, later to be guaranteed by the League of Nations but not operated by them. Also, in the proceedings necessary to protect the rights of the racial, linguistic, religious minorities in Czecho-Slovakia, it is not the League of Nations that these oppressed people turn to, but to the Big Five.

The same condition obtains in Poland. Where boundaries for the new Poland are not definitely laid down in the treaty, it is the Big Five, not the League of Nations, that will determine them. A plebiscite there to be taken in respect of Upper Silesia is to be carried on by a regime set up by four members of the Big Five. The benign powers of the League of Nations are not requested or expected to operate here. Furthermore, the decisions on these new boundaries in Poland are to take place in a region which the troops of the four members of the Big Five will occupy. In Upper Silesia, moreover, this commission of the four Great Powers will exercise full sovereignty, without reference to the League of Nations, for a period which may extend as long as eighteen months, or even for an indefinite period. Nor is it the League of Nations to whom the result of this vote in Upper Silesia will be communicated, but to the Big Five, who also shall delimit the frontier and fix the time when the various peoples shall take over the government of their own nation. Not even in matters concerning race, language or religion among the minorities in Poland, will the League of Nations interpose the strong arm of defense, but the treaty which Poland agrees to make with the Big Five.

The occupation of East Prussia, on the withdrawal of

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the German troops and authorities from that area, will be directed by a commission appointed by the Big Five. No reference to the League of Nations is made in this decision. All reports shall be made, not to the League of Nations, but to the five principal allied and associated powers. It is they who will fix the frontier, and determine what proportion of the deficit in the budget shall be paid by the inhabitants of East Prussia.

Like provisions for the Kreise of Stuhm and Rosenberg are to be made. It is not the League of Nations that will take possession of this territory, but the Big Five, and, what is even more significant, shall, if occasion arises, be supplied with necessary military force.

GERMAN TERRITORIES AND COLONIES UNDER "BIG FIVE"

IT is not in favor of the League of Nations that Germany renounces all rights and titles to the territory of Memel. The stipulations regarding this area are very simple. Not even a commission is to be appointed. Germany will simply turn the territory over to the Big Five, direct.

The free city of Danzig, which could not have obtained that superlative freedom without the indispensable instrumentality of the League of Nations, is one of the interesting subjects in the stipulations of the treaty. In Article 100 the language of the opening sentence significantly states that Germany renounces its rights and titles over Danzig and necessary surrounding area, not to the League of Nations, but in favor of the Big Five, who are to appoint a commission to delimit the frontier and to establish Danzig as a free city. Although subsequently it is to be placed under the League of Nations, that august body only functions in the transaction to appoint a high commissioner for the city. It is absolutely the Big Five who will negotiate the treaty with the Polish government by which the latter shall "accept exceptional obligations with regard to the use of its port," and shall take over the conduct of the city's foreign relations and the diplomatic protection of its citizens when abroad. All property of the German Empire within the

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free city of Danzig is only nominally under the protection of the League of Nations, because it passes to the Big Five, who shall have complete liberty to distribute this property to the free city or to the Polish state, as they may see fit.

The redistribution of sovereignty over Schleswig will not be in the hands of the League of Nations when evacuated by German troops and when the soviet councils have withdrawn, but will be governed by a commission appointed by the Big Five. It is this commission, acting under orders from the Big Five, who will cede to the Kingdom of Denmark the portion of Schleswig assigned to it.

These are instances that point very positively to the misconception that the League of Nations will infuse into this readjustment of peoples that inspired humanitarianism that has been declared for it.

The limitation of armaments, which was presented to us as one of the vital issues of the League of Nations, might well be expected could be confided to the wise heads and the active hands of the League. Yet this does not appear to be the fact. Throughout the whole minute instructions to reduce Germany to military impotence, it is not the soothing agency of the League of Nations which attempts this task, but the strong arm of the Big Five, the principal allied and associated powers. We were also told that the negotiators in Paris studied how best to put the ill-governed colonies into the hands of government which are to act as trustees for the people and not as their masters. There was to be some common authority among the nations made responsible for the execution of this trust. And yet, in that portion of the treaty which deals with the German colonies, Germany renounces all her titles over her overseas possessions to the Big Five, not to the League of Nations.

TURKEY AND THE LEAGUE

THE President, in speaking of the Turkish Empire, which he disclosed as having fallen apart, plainly implied that here again the League of Nations would be an indispensable instrumentality. And yet this treaty provides

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that the moneys supposed to be held in German possession with reference to the Ottoman debt and other Turkish transactions are to be paid, not into the honest hands of the League of Nations as trustees, but to the Big Five. In like manner sums in gold, held as pledge in connection with German loans to the Austrian-Hungary Government, the benefits disclosed by the Treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk, and all money or other negotiable material received under these treaties, pass into the possession of the Big Five, to be disposed of in a manner which those powers shall hereafter determine.

The word of promise which preceded the document, containing a sentiment the American people understood to be intended in a league of nations, is broken to the ear and hope alike. One might have expected that the task of reducing Germany to military harmlessness could have been directed by the League of Nations. But it is a conference of military experts belonging to the Big Five, and not the League of Nations, which will fix the reductions to be made in Germany's military effectiveness. It is to the Big Five directly that Germany will report the extent of her munitions and guns, her armament, and the new fortified works which she will be allowed to retain. It is not the League of Nations, but the Big Five, which will approve the restrictions upon factories in Germany which will be permitted to manufacture war materials. To them Germany must surrender her surplus war material, and it is they who will direct the manner in which the surrender shall be made. And, when the German government shall disclose her national secrets for explosives, toxic substances, or other chemical preparations invented by her for the war, is it to the League of Nations, or is it for deposit in the massive vaults (and its observation by Sir Eric Drummond), which will form part of the equipment of the League of Nations' palace at Geneva? By no means. It is the five powers who will take over and exchange this deadly knowledge.

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DISARMAMENT CONTROLLED BY "BIG FIVE"

THE reduction of the German naval power is apparently too important for the League of Nations. The entire disarmament of Germany is specifically controlled by the Big Five.

The supposed indispensable value of the League of Nations is thus readily disposed of on sea and land for the effective purpose of disarmament; therefore it is equally disposed of in aeronautics. Even in the humanitarian and sentimental aims which the treaty purposes for the repatriation of prisoners of war and interned civilians, and for the protection of graves, it is not the humanitarian influence of the League of Nations to whom the treaty turns, but to special commissions who are representative of the Big Five.

The task of reparations is nowhere committed to the League of Nations. That important duty rests in the hands of an interallied commission to be called the reparation commission. Delegates to this commission shall be nominated by seven nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium and the Serb-Croat-Slovene state, each of whom will appoint one delegate and assistant in case of illness. Of the seven delegates, on no occasion shall more than five have the right to take part in the proceedings of the commission and to record their vote; but the delegates of the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy shall have this right on all occasions. The delegates of the other three nations shall only have this right when questions concerning their interest are under consideration. Obviously the four dominant powers, with their perpetual right to vote, will always constitute a majority of the seven who will comprise the commission.

OPEN COVENANTS A MYTH

THE latitude of power for this reparations committee is widespread. When it is found, furthermore, that an absolute requirement of the treaty is that all proceedings of the reparations committee shall be private, unless for special reasons the commission shall decide otherwise, one

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gropes, in a twilight, to find the door that leads to open covenants. One looks helplessly for that new era when the light should stream so brightly before our path. A list of the powers and duties which this commission will assume shows that it will not derive any of them from the League of Nations. The authority of the Reparation Commission will be directed exclusively by the Big Five, who will furnish the long-continued supervision of Germany's bitter atonement.

In the entire document under discussion the principal allied and associated powers, the Big Five, figure seventy-six times, and the second group—that is, all the other belligerents to the number of twenty-two—forty-five times, a total of a hundred and twenty-one references. Whereas the League of Nations figures altogether only fifty-seven times, and of these twenty-one refer to its nebulous connection with the administration of the Saar Valley; eighteen in connection with the labor clauses of which the League is supposed to be the special champion, and only three to Danzig. In the whole two hundred and fifty-three pages which constitute the Treaty, apart from the covenant of the League itself, there are only fifteen references to general activity for the League of Nations.

The President, in a speech made in New York on March 4, 1919, speaking of the League of Nations, said: "If we could but form it, it would be an invaluable instrumentality through which to secure the operation of the various parts of the Treaty; * * * you cannot dissect the covenant from the Treaty without destroying the whole vital structure."

The instrument as I have analyzed it is an effective denial of this defiant claim.

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PROTECTING THE POOR MAN IN COURT

By HON. WILLIAM MCADOO
[*Chief Magistrate of Greater New York*]

The question as to whether justice is administered in the police courts of any large community is an old one. Judge McAdoo in this article insists that the poor man has equal protection from the court as the rich man, if not more than the latter. Some significant changes have occurred in the administration of the courts in the largest community of the United States. These changes, and the Judge's impression of the criminal classes, bring forth entirely new matter for thought.

DO the poor men and women get equal justice in the Magistrates' courts with those who are rich and influential?

Is poverty a handicap to those who come for justice to these courts?

If these questions are to be answered in the affirmative it is a most serious condition of affairs. When the community loses confidence in the impartial administration of justice in the courts, when the public mind entertains the idea that a poor man has not the same chance of obtaining his rights as a rich man, the whole social and political fabric is endangered.

If there is failure in any of these courts to give a poor man exactly the same quality and quantity of justice that a rich man or influential man gets, I do not know it, and it is my business to become acquainted with such a condition if it exists. The magistrates are not infallible. They are human and they differ in temperament, as other human beings. One magistrate may look upon a thing as trivial that I might consider serious. One magistrate may take a different social

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and economic view of questions correlated to a case from what I do. The law gives us great discretion and a large responsibility, for the abuse of which we are accountable to the higher courts. The things required of a magistrate are, of course, integrity, courage against being influenced outside of the merits of the case; consistency in treating all cases and all kinds of people, creeds and classes and races, alike; and, added to these, intelligence, a good understanding of the law—the greater the better—and a sound common sense judgment and knowledge of human nature and of the conditions of life in the great city in which we live.

A MAGISTRATE'S GRAVEST PROBLEM

WE have been laboring for years in the Board of Magistrates to bring about, if possible, some degree of uniformity in the matter of punishment. The great problem is not to say whether a person is guilty or not guilty under the evidence, as to what to do with them after they have been found guilty, especially in the case of the young. And yet we have to remember that practically all the greatest crimes nowadays are committed by young men between the ages of 16 and 25.

Magistrates, like other judges and human beings, look at life sometimes from different angles, and a cast-iron rule which would say, for instance, that we should fine $10 in one class of cases and $50 in the next, and imprisonment for three months in another class and six months in another, and put on probation in another, suspend sentence in another, would not be acceptable, nor would it be just; for after all the exceptional case is always bound to turn up. We have before us human beings about whom as such we must be concerned. Appearance, manner, speech, all evidences of character, antecedents, environment, heredity — all these have to be taken into consideration in fixing the punishment. Then in addition to that we deal with a large class of defectives who ought to be in custodial institutions rather than at large and certainly are not subjects for penitentiaries or workhouses. Some day the State of New York will have

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to meet this condition by providing a great custodial institution somewhere in the country, giving opportunities for manual labor suited to conditions and for educational facilities. Personally, I favor a reasonable degree of uniformity in the treatment of certain cases in which the evidence is generally alike and the delinquents are not dissimilar in character. To this end we furnish each magistrate with a copy of the record of all the magistrates in certain cases, showing disposition of the same, so that they can make a comparison of their work if they wish to with that of others. As we sit in different courts far removed from each other, we have no opportunity of judging how others handle cases similar to those coming before us, other than through these means. And I have urged upon the city authorities to allow us to make these tables as full as possible and print them for public distribution.

POOR AND RICH TREATED ALIKE

OUTSIDE of the fines imposed, no poor or rich man pays any costs in these courts. Everything is entirely free. In other criminal jurisdictions in different States, and in European countries, conviction carries with it the payment of costs.

Under present conditions the poor man or woman gets the same justice as the rich man. If there are any exceptions to this rule they are rare and not known to me. I do say that tremendous strides have been made in connection with the administration of the law in these courts, and all inuring to the benefit of the great masses of the people who are without wealth or political influence. Human nature is about the same in every country. We do not make any particular brand in America. A man who thinks he has a "pull" with the judge will try to use it, whether he is a very rich man or a very poor one. If he is a very rich man he carries with him a certain social prestige, influential atmosphere as it were, which gives him weight and consideration in many circles—commercial, financial, political. If he is a poor man and active as a citizen in a partisan way, he will

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look to his organization to help him when he gets into trouble. He expects the Democratic or Republican leader to come down to the court and see the magistrate and assure him that the defendant is a hard-working, virtuous and honest man, who would not harm a fly or pick up diamonds that did not belong to him if they were as common as coal cinders in a railroad yard.

Speaking for magistrates, we ask for intelligent and constructive criticism which will help us to make these courts even better. My own motto is: Continuous progress and the elimination of evil practises, bad influences; more courage, more consistency, more keeping straight in the middle of the road, more and more holding the balance even, firmly, and stubbornly refusing to be lured by extraneous influences, fears or temptations. A court needs the public confidence as much as a bank.

THE COURT'S TREATMENT OF THE POOR

NOW, how are the poor people treated in these courts? The great majority of them come into court through the action of the police—the smaller number where one citizen complains against another. The policeman is an officer of the law as much as a magistrate. We have a right to assume that he is an upright, honest official, doing his duty, and that he is disinterested. As such his evidence is entitled to great consideration. We should not accept it implicitly in all cases any more than the evidence of other honest witnesses. Every case has to stand on its own bottom and be judged by the facts.

The police bring to the magistrates three classes of cases—felonies, misdemeanors, and minor offenses under the statute law or city ordinances. Whether a man is rich or poor, if not represented by counsel, the magistrate is obliged to tell him all his rights:

"You are not compelled to say anything unless you want to."

"Anything you may say here may be used against you hereafter."

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"You are entitled to an adjournment to procure counsel or witnesses, or for any other good cause."

"You have a right to communicate with your friends or relatives by telephone, letter or otherwise. You can do so free of charge."

Whether the charge is murder or violating the rules of the Department of Health, this formula has to be followed in every case.

In most felony cases the defendant procures counsel, especially in those cases where it is evident he belongs to professionally criminal classes. If anything, these are over-defended, all too readily bonded. We need waste no sympathy on this class, which includes burglars, highwaymen, gangsters, pickpockets, confidence men, gamblers and prostitutes. These are so well defended in the Magistrates' courts and find bondsmen so readily that they almost come to be privileged classes. There is a real or apparent union in defense of the vices which are commercialized. Certainly if there is any public sentiment, so far as I know, it is against the over-defense and scrupulous care which must be exercised in the trial of these criminal and vicious classes. It apparently requires a more technical adherence to the rules of evidence and a greater amount of proof to convict one belonging to the vicious classes than it does to convict of murder in the first degree.

Now we shall leave all that class out. They not only get their rights but quite a lot that belong to other people.

A BUSY MORNING IN A MANHATTAN COURT

HERE is a busy morning in one of the prominent district courts in Manhattan. Let us see what is going on and how the poor are treated. The first rule is to clear what are called the detention pens of those who are still under arrest. We can now readily dispose of those charged with public intoxication, for reasnos which can be felt if not stated, and next those charged with disorderly conduct tending to a breach of the peace. This covers more sins than charity, because it has been very properly construed

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by the reviewing courts and the magistrates as accounting for all conduct which might lead to breaches of the peace. Plainly stated, conduct which might, under some circumstances, time and place considered, be entirely illegal and improper and highly irritating and tending in every possible way to breaches of the peace, if not serious riots. Considering conditions in New York City, unlike those of most world capitals, I believe this section of the statute as construed by the courts the greatest defense of law and order.

Most of these disorderly cases in the main are brought in by the police—corner loafers, noise makers, persons fighting in the street, arrests made at the instigation of citizens who claim that they were assaulted or maltreated in some way or other by the arrested defendants. The defendants are mostly men, very few women, except in the case of those charged with prostitution, which are dealt with in a special court. Many of the defendants are represented by lawyers. The District Attorney is represented in each district court in Manhattan, the Bronx, and Brooklyn by a deputy. He and the magistrate feel that they are responsible for the conservation of the rights of the defendant. If he is not represented by counsel, he is warned about his rights; adjournments are offered him. If he is a foreigner, through the interpreter it is especially impressed upon him that he can have immediate trial or an adjournment, as he may wish. If he desires an adjournment and wants witnesses, subpœnas are given to him if necessary and an officer is told to serve them.

In practise, I am rather inclined to think that the poor man is, if anything, treated better than a prominently rich man. A rich man will invariably appear with counsel. If he comes into court with a haughty, patronizing manner, I think he subconsciously affects a magistrate rather adversely than otherwise. A poor man who says to the Court, "I want you to protect my rights," is apt to get full measure running over. The gangsters and corner loafer are considered in certain quarters social and political units and may

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have influence against which the magistrate must be on his guard.

It is not a question here of poverty or riches, it is simply a matter of keeping the mind free from appeals which have no right to be heard otherwise than in the open court room.

After these cases have been disposed of, complainants who have been to the clerk asking for a summons or warrant and have been refused on the ground that the facts did not warrant it in the opinion of the clerk, are now permitted to come up and address the judge personally and directly. This is one of the difficult tasks of the magistrate. It requires something more than the wisdom of Solomon and a complete understanding not only of human nature, but local conditions and even racial prejudices and religious differences. It is a thoroughly international court. Many of these complainants are women, and most of the cases concern quarrels in tenement and apartment houses. Some of the complaints allege commercial frauds, such as misrepresenting the new hat which the lady had bought; or against the boarding-house mistress for retaining the trunk when the boarder says she has nothing. Many of them verge on family troubles—the wife and husband are both in court with counter-statements. The complaints verge on all phases of social conditions and personal relationship, and vary from circumstantial evidence affecting the ownership of a mangy dog to the reclamation of a wandering canary bird.

INFINITE PATIENCE AND WISDOM NEEDED

THE magistrate must be patient. Most of these people are poor. A great many of them do not speak English, which is a condition regarding which the country will wake up some of these days and take notice. He must have infinite patience, a good heart, impartiality, human sympathy and a clear head. It will not do to say that these complaints are too trivial, and then turn all these people out of court. Sometimes there is seed of infinite mischief and serious breaches of the law involved if these fresh

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wounds are not cauterized and skillfully treated in the first instance. A wise magistrate here can do infinite good to the community. Not infrequently all parties concerned shake hands and agree to try it over again. Some of the magistrates, where a feud is apparently irrepressible, will advise that a removal to a different neighborhood might be advantageous to domestic content and peace in the great human hive where these people live. Most of the complaints about magistrates comes from these cases. They write to the Mayor and they write to me. "The woman should have been sent to prison for life," writes a disappointed suitor. The woman who wanted the other heavily punished because she struck her child is entirely dissatisfied with the disposition of the case made by the magistrate. The other woman is still at large, so she writes to the Mayor that you can get no justice in these courts. Foreigners entirely ignorant of our laws and institutions and traditions, and accustomed to arbitrary action in the elder countries, and who can see no side of the case but their own, go out wailing against our courts and institutions, provided the other party is not sent for a long term to prison instead of being only fined or admonished.

Each individual case looks trivial but in the mass they are immensely important. Here the magistrate has a woman with three small children before him. She looks anæmic and consumptive, yet she has violated the law. She is imperiling the health of the community. He admonishes her through the interpreter, gives her a kindly but firm talk. He looks at the struggling children and wan face and lets her go. In the others the fines are small and considered sufficient to be deterrent. In spite of all this, this procession come in every day. Most of the complaints against the magistrates, as far as I know, outside of these people themselves, is that they are too lenient, too kindly and too sympathetic; that the fines are not heavy enough. Sometimes the city authorities complain bitterly about this, especially in the cases of a vast army of unlicensed pedlars dealt with only spasmodically by the police. Speaking for myself, I be-

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lieve the magistrate should be firm. Life and health are at stake, and he must not be indulgent to a defendant at the expense of the whole community. On the other hand, there are cases that particularly appeal to us and draw on our sympathies. I have no knowledge that the poor are in any wise oppressed in these matters—quite the contrary.

Sometimes, in my opinion, the maximum punishment of six months in the workhouse for conduct tending to a breach of the peace, meted out to a frustrated pickpocket, is much better than to hold the case up for months or maybe a year before it finally reached a petty jury under the charge of attempted larceny from the person.

The poor man, as a matter of fact, in some instances does not suffer comparatively as much as the rich man. Very often well-to-do men in these courts will plead guilty and want to pay a fine for infractions of municipal regulations or statutes relating to misdemeanors, rather than the delay and expense of having it go to another court. It is an everyday occurrence that they will say to us, "I wish you could try this matter and dispose of it now so that I won't lose so much time, which is more valuable to me than the amount of fine involved."

PROFESSIONAL BONDSMEN SHOULD BE LICENSED

OF course, a rich man can more readily get bail than a poor man. There is less risk to the bondsman. He can be thoroughly indemnified by the man from his own property. The same applies to the surety companies. Formerly there was a great deal of agitation about Magistrates' courts with regard to this matter of bail. Public indignation was properly aroused against the professional bondsman, who is particularly in evidence in cases of women arrested on charges of prostitution.

There is, however, appearing again in these courts a type of bondsman who is professional, but who operates under entirely different circumstances. He or his agent comes into court with a large bundle of Liberty bonds in one pocket and a big sum of money in the other. He puts

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up bonds or cash, or both, for the defendant. What are we going to do about it? As a matter of fact, the cash bond is the best so far as the security is concerned. Have I the right to say that I will not receive this money or permit the clerk to do so because it comes from a man who is habitually around the court doing a similar service for other defendants of a like class? Have I a legal right to do so?

It is my opinion and that of those who have studied the subject that if a person charges another for going on his bond he ought to be considered a professional bondsman and should be required to take out a license and allowed only a certain fee for this service, which should be fixed by law. The danger now is that he exploits the defendants and makes them submit to extortion, bringing about features of the old method.

The cry of the people everywhere is: Less nice subtleties, less display of intellectual agility in playing chess with the letter of the law, less dependence on precedents that themselves rest on nothing but fictions and old abuses, and instead, Justice! substantial Justice! Justice! and nothing but Justice!

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IS SOCIALISM A POLITICAL PARTY?

SOME FACTS AND OPINIONS THAT PROVE IT WOULD LIKE TO BE SO

By WILLIAM DE WAGSTAFFE

The political aspect of Socialism has a semblance of a new idea in politics, in this country, though it is not. It has recently been under a hot-fire of criticism and suspicion, and the writer in this article reflects the blended views upon this question of Socialists, anti-Socialists, American judiciary and political leaders. It is not a sensational review, that being the smaller issue involved, but it aims to present the political features of Socialism.

WHEN you ask a man a question that concerns his views on politics, you have to take into account his political affiliations. It is next to impossible to separate him from his political discretion. If you ask a Socialist what his politics are, he will appear to deny interest in any political plan but socialism, merely pledging himself to impress upon the world a doctrine instead of a political party. Mistrusting other political systems, he presents himself at the polls and votes for the candidate nominated by the Socialists.

Until recently, his political conscience was transparent enough. Beyond an energetic effort to enroll new members in an organization sworn to obey the belief that the "oppressor" must be annihilated from the social scheme of life, so that all Socialists may establish themselves in the places now held by officeholders of existing governments, or other places similar in character, differing only in executive system, the Socialist approaches this vast responsibility of an

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organized national government with no other political equipment than the ballot granted to him under certain authority of American citizenship.

Socialism, in its broader sense, is a doctrine, not a political platform. There are many doctrines in the world. Some are adopted by scientists, astronomers, geologists, atheists and spiritualists. Socialists are men and women with a special doctrine of how life can be improved. For some time it was regarded as a harmless intellectual stimulus to be applied by the Socialists to all people but the Socialists themselves. There is a wide discrepancy between what socialism promises, and what active Socialists themselves demand. There are ideals in socialism which even the ideal Socialist seems to forget when he begins to demonstrate. We have had a volume of propaganda, for and against socialism, in this country for many years.

Before the war, there was no objection to their theories. As they themselves argued that it might take five hundred years before the world would be ready to accept them, no one found much fault with socialism. In the exigencies of the war, when certain human impulses inspired Americans to recruiting service, there seemed to be something lacking in the Socialist brand of patriotism. Their doctrine of comradeship regarded the draft law as a violation of the socialistic creed, embodying a brotherhood of man. They were mostly pacifists, an unpopular if not legally defiant group.

GROWTH OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

ABOUT thirty years ago the Socialists in America started to demonstrate socialism by beginning a definite political propaganda. That was in 1888. In that year, the Socialist party named a candidate for President of the United States. Since that time socialism has taken part in the political programs of this country continuously, though without any marked importance. The Socialist party is a minority, but, for its doctrine rather than its political strength, it attracted followers. Socialism has already spread

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some fascinating theories of Utopian flavor, since the days they were first advanced by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and the other founders of socialism in Europe. The latter existed long before 1888, when the first American Socialist party was organized for a political campaign. This party took root in New York City, where most of its leaders reside, and the growth of its movement there is the story of its growth in the entire country. Of the two members of Congress elected by the Socialists one came from New York City, the other from Milwaukee. Once launched upon a political basis in this country, the Socialist party in America forged ahead from 1888. Legislators, aldermen, and some minor officials were occasionally elected from various parts of the country. In 1917 New York elected ten members of Assembly to the State Legislature, and seven Aldermen. Although the elections of 1918 defeated most of these representatives, it was due to the coalition effected by the Democratic and Republican parties, in districts that had elected these Socialists.

As a political organization, the Socialist party, throughout the country, had never been a national sinew of political influence. It has never seized the entire attention of the American vote. Nor has the Socialist party advanced any political platform that has aroused national interest. The recent investigation started by the New York Legislature in Albany, because it became a matter of worldwide curiosity, has brought the doctrine of socialism to the public mind, chiefly through suspected affiliation with communism.

The growth of socialism in American politics can be briefly shown in a table of the votes taken in elections since 1888.

Its birth certificate as a political organization in this country, in 1888, pulled only 7000 votes from the entire country. In New York City:

1892—Vote cast for President 5,945

This was the Bryan-McKinley year, and the total city vote was 3.4 per cent of the total vote cast. There was no

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increase this year, but this campaign was conducted on radical lines and many Socialists voted for Bryan.

The above figures were for the old city, which included what are now New York and Bronx counties. Since 1897 the figures take in the Greater City of New York and show a constant growth in each borough of the Greater City:

1897—Vote cast for Mayor	14,310

This was 2.7 per cent of the total vote and shows a decline, due, however, to the intensity of the local campaign, in which the contest was waged between Low, Tracy and Van Wyck.

1902—Vote cast for Governor . .	26,007 (47% of total)
1904—Vote cast for President . .	29,686

The vote indicated since 1900 includes the total Socialist vote, as during these years there were two party tickets, one known as the Social-Democrat and the other as the Social-Labor Party. It is interesting to mention that in addition to these there were nearly 5000 votes cast in 1904 for the People's Party candidates, which may be regarded as a movement akin to the socialistic.

1905—Vote cast for Mayor	11,817
1906—Vote cast for Governor	13,477
1907—Vote cast for Court of Appeals	17,694

The vote during these three years shows a decline, but again the loss is due to a large number of the radically inclined voting for candidates they thought had a better chance of winning. In 1905 Mr. Hearst was a candidate for Mayor, and in 1906 for Governor, while in 1907 the Independence League named candidates for the Court of Appeals.

1908—Vote cast for President . .	27,881 (Ind. League vote, 27,372)
1909—Vote cast for Mayor . . .	13,018 (2% of total)
1910—Vote cast for Governor . .	29,838 (5.2% of total)
1911—Vote cast for Local Offices . .	34,133 (5.9% of total)
1912—Vote cast for President . .	34,885 (5.9% of total)

This was the memorable Roosevelt-Taft year and very many of the Socialists voted for either Roosevelt or Wilson.

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1913—Vote cast for Court of Appeals Judges	32,734 (5.1% of total)
1914—Vote cast for Governor . .	25,373 (4.1% of total)

This year was enlivened by the campaign of William Sulzer for Governor on the American ticket, after his impeachment. An analysis of the figures of the different districts shows a remarkable gain of Socialist votes by Sulzer and which accounts for the decline of the Socialist strength.

1915—Vote cast for Local Officials .	42,527 (7% of total)
1916—Vote cast for Governor . .	40,635 (5.7% of total)

SOCIALIST PARTY UNIMPORTANT POLITICALLY

BRIEFLY, these are statistical facts showing a political activity of the Socialist Party in the country. The figures do not loom large on a political blackboard. The increase is so slight, in proportion to the voting strength of the nation, it has no outward sign of political importance. The Socialist Party has never been a disturbing element to the two existing parties in this country, but—it has succeeded in foreign polling districts, and it has elected Representatives.

The claims made that the Socialist Party has waged a contest every year, based upon bitter opposition to our form of government, have been denied by the Socialists, who, at the same time, insist that the doctrines of socialism are better than those of our existing government. It is upon these doctrines, mixed with the sweetening promises of economic equality, that the political work of the Socialists gained a few unimportant elections. By impressing theoretical doctrines of a social philosophy upon many of the ignorant, the radical, or the discontented citizens of small districts, in large communities, such as New York, Chicago, Kansas City, Seattle, and some other cities, the political gains of the Socialist Party in this country have failed to establish a foothold for socialism as a political force in national affairs. The chief impulse of the Socialist Party in America came from Europe, where socialism had at-

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tained a political significance many years ago. Its elective representatives in Europe, their number and the country in which they served in a legislative capacity, tell the story of successful socialism there.

Italy	1892—Elected	6 representatives to Parliament.
Italy	1913—Elected	59 representatives to Parliament.
Sweden	1902—Elected	9 representatives to Parliament.
Sweden	1914—Elected	87 representatives to Parliament.
France	1893—Elected	40 representatives to Parliament.
France	1917—Elected	166 representatives to Parliament.
England	1916—Elected	35 representatives to Parliament.
Australia	1901—Elected	24 representatives to Parliament.
Australia	1914—Elected	71 representatives to Parliament.
Germany	1871—Elected	2 representatives to Parliament.
Germany	1912—Elected	110 representatives to Parliament.

The fear of socialism has always disturbed the monarchial systems of the world. Such fear has been based on one of its best ideals—democracy. It is something that Americans long ago established with a republican form of government. Consequently, in America, the principles of socialism did not invite any special comment. The doctrines of the founders of socialistic thought were created by St. Simon, Robert Owen, Karl Marx, Ferdinand La Salle, Frederick Engels, and others. Scholarly, intellectual, all of them. Like subsequent intellectuals who have endeavored to reform the peoples of the earth, they were obstinate and impractical men, sincere philosophers, economists, professors—but not politicians.

Their ideals made good reading, but, when put into practice, they have caused chiefly revolutions and disorder. Even among themselves, earnest in their desire to press home the doctrines which these professors have voluminously set forth in books, the Socialists disagreed violently. In their midst they found communists, with the result that on September 1, 1919, they split up, and the Left Wing Socialists became the Communist Party of America. Obviously, the Socialist Party was divided as to its political doctrines then, though it had been in accord on communistic principles before, but not in accord on their political application.

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WHERE SOCIALISM FLOURISHES BEST

PERHAPS there would be no reason to expose the Socialist Party to serious criticism, if they had managed their political affairs as intelligently as the European Socialists. As a fruitful seed, socialism takes root and flourishes best in cultivated soil, in those minds that excel in poetic imagination of a high social purpose. Its blooms strew the path of human error with glorious profusion. The Socialists would entwine the human race in garlands of sweet-scented flowers of hope. Nor is the human race opposed to this demonstration of regard, but that portion of it which resides in America still retains a crudity of thought that is not quite equal to the festivities of socialism. Common sense neutralizes the Socialist idea in America, scatters its intellectual theories. Once that is done, there is nothing left of socialism, but anarchy. The European Socialist is satisfied with the respect socialism as a doctrine receives from thinkers, students, professors and idealists. He is more willing to wait for political power. In Europe the doctrinal Socialist has not become directly entangled with the "Reds," as he has in this country. In Russia, only the radical Socialists prevail, a breed striped with violent principles that have no connection with the real doctrine of socialism.

There is no proof that the Bolsheviki are Socialists. The Socialist Party of America does not openly recognize the Bolsheviki as political allies. The Left Wing Socialists embrace them fraternally. The assertion that the Bolshevik government of Russia is practically the political formula outlined by the leaders of socialism for the past fifty years is open to question. It is an assertion that depends upon the correct interpretation of socialism, and who can agree upon that? The Socialist Party itself fails to do so—even the critics of socialism have been divided.

Without entering into all the ramifications of argument, whether of the conservative idealists, who, in the name of socialism, preach a doctrine of political justice, or of the radical Socialists, who demand power by force, it is

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obvious that the Socialist Party of America has bungled its political prospects to the verge of disaster to any of the higher purposes of socialism. It has done more than this, it has defeated itself politically in this country, because it will take a long while before the Socialist vote here can be cleansed of Bolshevism. By indiscretions of spoken or printed word, by a complete lack of political accord, by an instinct to meet opposition with open threat against the government of the country, and by a misguided selection of candidates, socialism has suffered materially by mismanagement.

In spite of the fact that socialism is a doctrine for the improvement of humanity, its political ambition has brought about greater disorder and bitterer hatred than any political organization in existence. In their political inefficiency, Socialists have been unable to play politics. They have left themselves exposed to the most serious charge that can be brought against any political plan, the charge of contempt for the existing government, aside from its political character.

If the Socialist Party in this country could include other national issues than the one tiresome propaganda of socialism, it would at least betray a political discernment it has failed to do. Their chief success has been with labor, and this because of certain false premises in their political pledges. Their whole political propaganda has been drawn around one idea, one misleading idea, one general aim—socialism. America is a side issue in their political program.

LABOR UNIONS HONEYCOMBED BY SOCIALISM

THE political success of socialism among the labor unions has been the chief financial support of the Socialist Party. Socialism, acceptable to the labor leaders, as a doctrine, has been repudiated by them as a political issue. Its success in the labor unions has been almost exclusively with the foreign-born and the alien, the non-English speaking unionists, who were not acceptable, as

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members of the labor unions, for some time. This gave strength to the membership of the Socialist Party, and its political ambitions. In the cause of "uplift for the working man," strikes were encouraged by the Socialist Party. Police or military interference with these strikes added to the propagandist's fuel for political socialism. Strikes were regarded by the Socialists with complacent satisfaction, every strike being accepted as a means of impressing upon labor the class consciousness which the Socialist leaders claim is the most important object to be achieved, to bring about a change of government. In their frenzy to increase the size of the Socialist Party, minors and aliens were eligible in their political system. By securing control of newspapers, published in foreign languages, their political strength was increased. *The Call* and *The Jewish Forward,* both printed in English, were originally started by contributions mainly from the labor unions. Their editorial policy to decline space in their columns to any news matter or advertisement which might oppose the Socialist point of view has greatly narrowed their circulation and enclosed their political outlook. Here and there, the sentimental appeal to Americans of prestige to help the Socialists in overcoming the "injustice to the working classes" has drawn American-born and well educated men and women to their support.

Their political methods during electioneering time are no better than they should be. Heckling of speakers, street agitators, organized riot gangs of aliens, boycott lists of small tradesmen, house-to-house canvasses, threatening of labor unionists opposed to them—these are some of the methods adopted by the Socialist Party to elect its candidates.

Shameful as much of the political history of New York City is, no other group of political enthusiasm has attempted the tactics employed by the Socialist advocates in the campaigns of 1914, 1916, and 1918.

To compel a storekeeper to remove every sign and poster not socialistic upon the threat of a boycott to ruin

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him financially was not the exception but the settled policy in every section of the greater city where the leaders felt strong enough to accomplish their purpose. Taking advantage of their Sunday-schools, their children were organized to parade, to preach socialism to their playmates in public school, and those who expressed opposition to the Socialist cause were made the objects of ridicule and shame.

Religious beliefs have not yet been banished from American politics, excepting in the Socialist Party, The chief exponents of socialism are atheists, although Lenine, and the majority of the Socialist-Bolshevik leaders, are of Christian birth.

As a political force, the Socialist Party is not impressive in this country, excepting in its misguided affiliation with communism, which is not, and never has been, a matter for political concern in these United States of America.

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The Socialist Left Embraces Bolshevism

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GETTING LABOR'S GOOD WILL

By CHARLES M. SCHWAB

A GOOD many people these days are "seeing red." Some talk as though the whole world is threatened with overturn by Bolshevism. I am not one of those who talk or think that way. We hear a great deal about the labor problem. I am one of those who do not believe in theorizing about labor and capital. I do not believe the world is going to be suddenly changed by any academic solutions of, or resolutions about, the labor question.

I believe that the first and prime need of every man engaged in industry is to get and to keep his own house in order and to secure the confidence and the enthusiastic loyalty of his own men. We have great problems to face, great work to do, and our real job is to get out and get to work, and that applies not alone to the laboring man, but to every man in business, no matter how high up he may be.

An honest day's work for a full day's pay is the supreme thing which it is the duty of every business man and manufacturer not alone to obtain from the workman, but it is no less his duty to make the workman see that just such a performance is in the workman's own highest interest.

It is the duty of the business man to address himself to seeing to it that the largest possible opportunity for employment and work is given to the greatest number of men, and I am myself a firm believer in the fact that the successful employment of labor does now and will in the future more and more rest upon the recognition: First—Of the right of the men to deal with their employers collectively; and Second—Upon the privilege of the men, through some kind of profit-sharing, to obtain a direct share in the profits realized upon the articles they themselves are making.

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That the laboring man wants, as I see it, is above all else recognition and appreciation and fellowship. He wants to be treated as a man of flesh and blood.

The kind of collective bargaining in which I believe is one that recognizes the right of the men themselves to choose their own fellow workmen as representatives to speak to the company, and which believes in the obligation of the company to treat these representatives individually and collectively with the confidence and the respect to which they are, by virtue of the stake in the business of those whom they represent, justly entitled.

WORKMEN MUST SHARE IN PROFITS

AND I believe in profit-sharing—not the kind of profit-sharing which consists of a mere bonus paid out of the total profits of the year, and added to the man's wages for the year. That is merely an increase in wages and has no direct relationship to a man's own work. What I believe in is that a man shall have a direct share of the profits derived from the particular unit of work he himself is doing.

I am sure we must all agree that if by some magic move we could secure not alone the good will of our workmen, but also their enthusiasm in their work, the workers of this country would multiply their output many times.

These are not mere theories. They have grown up, in my opinion, out of long and practical experience in dealing with men. I am firmly of the opinion that if we approach the industrial situation of the moment in a practical spirit, applying the results of our experience and our knowledge of human nature to the problems immediately before us, we shall come nearer to making this a better and happier world than we can by studying all the books, attending all the conventions and passing all the resolutions that could ever be dreamed of.

And so I suggest the time has come to get together and to get to work. Let us go forward with confidence and determination. Never was a situation more difficult; never were opportunities so brilliant.

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THE THEATRE IN REVIEW

By C. COURTENAY SAVAGE

The Return of the Famous

THE waning mid-winter season—which will soon be replaced by the Spring rush of plays, most of them of the lighter variety and produced in hopes of a successful summer run—has brought forward several of our most famous players—and a few interesting plays.

John Drew, for one, has returned to the stage, after an absence of two seasons, in a new comedy, "The Cat-Bird," by Rupert Hughes, while Nance O'Neill, Maxine Elliott and Grace George have also made new offerings.

It is impossible to consider "The Cat-Bird" and Mr. Drew without paralleling it with "Shavings," a Joseph Lincoln story of Cape Cod. Both can boast a hero past middle-age, harmless, lovable, and in Mr. Drew's case—far from the drawing-room character one has so long associated with his name. Elderly, wearing spectacles, shuffling as he crosses the stage, Mr. Drew is an unfamiliar figure, but his art, his elocution, is absolutely unimpaired. Rupert Hughes, in writing the comedy, draws for his central character an old professor, a student of sex life among the insects, who applies his rather harmless theories to humans with happy results. It is a slight play, but an interesting one, played in a quiet temp that will hardly prove popular with the majority. Among the very excellent company Miss Janet Beecher stands out prominently for her quiet humor and abundant charm.

In "Shavings," which was dramatized from Joseph C. Lincoln's Cape Cod story of the same name, one finds another middle-aged philosopher, this time of the type we have come to expect as originating on Cape Cod alone. He is dubbed by his fellow villagers a crank, for he lives alone, having few friends, and occupies his time by whit-

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tling toys. It is because of the pile of small shavings always to be found at his feet that they have given him his nickname. There is a love story; a returned jailbird and the usual banker, merchant, and two village-gossip types. *Shavings,* the character which it would be impossible not to compare with *Lightnin',* is ably played by Harry Beresford, who flashed from obscurity into importance earlier in the season when he played in the dramatization of one of Irving Cobb's short stories. It is a clean, wholesome play, and there is no doubt that it will prove a great success throughout the country.

Maxine Elliott's return was not as happy as Mr. Drew's. Her brief season in William Hurlbert's play, "Trimmed in Scarlet," showed that beauty cannot make an uninteresting story appealing. There were times when it seemed that Miss Elliott was mechanical in her acting, but it may have been the author's fault. "Trimmed in Scarlet" can hardly be considered in any measure a success.

Nance O'Neill, who has also been absent from the stage for several seasons, returned in "The Passion Flower," from the Spanish of Jacinto Benevante. It is a grim tragedy of Castilian peasant life, sordid, unrelieved. However, the play is so remarkably well acted, and has a story of such gripping intensity, that, plus Miss O'Neill's popularity, it is sure of a certain amount of success. Miss O'Neill's character is that of a peasant mother, and lends the part all the fire and passion of a semi-Oriental characterization. There are moments when you are surprised that she does not make a situation more gripping, and there are other moments when she carries her audience away by slight and subtle suggestion. Certainly, her performance is one of the most noteworthy emotional portrayals of the season, and must be marked as one more success in Miss O'Neill's already large gallery of heroines.

"Pietro," by Mrs. Otis Skinner and Jules Eckert Goodman, is only a fair play, and it might not be even that, if Otis Skinner were not in the cast to lend his appealing personality and remarkable stage technique to the part of the

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Italian father. The story is frankly theatrical, with a prologue that takes place eighteen years before the opening of the play. In this scene he is an Italian laborer, on trial for the murder of his wife. The woman is missing, and the evidence is so very circumstantial that she has not been killed at all, that he is set free. The drama, of course, is brought about when *Pietro* becomes a rich and influential American citizen, when the baby has grown to be a very lovely young lady, engaged to the son of the Prosecuting District Attorney, and the wife comes back. One really longs for the days of *Kismet*.

Another player of great charm, lacking a play worthy of her art, is Grace George. Miss George's latest comedy—her second or third attempt to find a successful play this season—is "The Ruined Lady." The story, more or less familiar, is that of a young woman who compromises herself in order to win the man she loves. What the comedy lacks in situation, it partially makes up in clever lines. Miss George, of course, is so finished an artist that she can make the most drab play interesting, and she was surrounded by a clever cast. If it were only possible to see her in something better!

Florence Moore, who had her training during several years of success in the vaudeville school, arrived as a star in "Breakfast in Bed," one more farce of the type which seems to be sponsored by the lingerie manufacturers. The comedy, which has been adapted from the French by Willard Mack and Hilliard Booth, is trite, and much of the dialogue is of the burlesque order. However, Miss Moore arrives on the stage very early in the play, and is there most of the time. As she has an amusing technique all her own, so very amusing that you forget the cheap dialogue and the cheaper plot; you thoroughly enjoy yourself in what really consists of two hours and a half of monologue. "Breakfast in Bed" is sure of a long run, and while the dignified critics of the drama may regard it with contempt, it would be impossible to sit through it without laughing.

"Mama's Affair" reached the stage by way of Har-

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vard's playwright work-shop. It is a prize from the pen of Rachel Barton Butler, the story telling of a hypochrondriac and her cure. While the play is brilliant in its comedy, but often obvious as to plot, it is so smartly written and smartly presented as a whole that it is to be counted among the best efforts of the American playwrights. The comedy is produced under the direction of Oliver Morosco, with an all-star cast including Robert Edeson and Effie Shannon.

"The Acquittal," Rita Weiman's new comedy-drama, is something more than one more drama. It is a decidedly cleverly constructed play beginning at a point where most plays leave off. A man has been acquitted of murder—and the question is—was he really guilty? It is a play with a surprise, and one not to be disclosed. Well written, well acted, and well produced, "The Acquittal" is sure of a long run.

"Big Game," which Mrs. Henry B. Harris produced, is one more example of the fact that actors cannot make a play. Such excellent players as Pauline Lord, Allen Dinehart and George Gaul labored masterfully with poor lines and impossible situation, but the opening night verdict was a two-weeks' closing notice, which is unfortunate, for neither Miss Lord nor Mr. Gaul have had an opportunity of showing their best work this season.

Musical Comedies

FROM Paris, by way of London, "As You Were," with its music by Herman Darewski, and book and lyrics by half a dozen people, arrived in New York. It proved to be one of the best musical comedies of the season, probably because it featured Sam Bernard and Irene Bordoni. Mr. Bernard's character is that of a wealthy pastry maker, who has a fascinatingly beautiful wife. Unfortunately, he does not believe the lady loves him as she should, and he takes advantage of a scientist's offer to transport him back through the ages, hoping by so doing to escape the presence of the modernly, unfaithful ladies. This carries the comedy action to Versailles of 1680, to the court of Cleopatra, to Athens of the day of Helen of Troy, and finally to the pri-

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meval forests where, to the immense enjoyment of his audience, Mr. Bernard discovers that there are no new jokes, and that women have never changed, so he hurries back through the ages to his Westchester home, and finds that his wife is only having a very mild, and not at all serious, flirtation. Mr. Bernard has not had such a part in years, and he takes advantage of it in a way that places him as the foremost comedian of the season. Miss Bordoni, more lovely with each succeeding change of costume, shares the honors, and is equally responsible for what must be a tremendous success.

Charles Dillingham piloted "The Night Boat" past the shoals of failure that lie in wait for every theatrical production, and anchored it firmly in the pleasing waters of the harbor of success. As his aides he summoned Anne Caldwell, author of a score of successful librettos, and Jerome Kern, who cannot write music that is not catchy. Of course, there is not much to the story, and the fact that the plot is of exceeding age matters but little. Who cares for a story when there is a good laugh, a swinging tune, and a pretty girl? Of the pretty girls, first honors go to Louise Groody, who danced all over the boat, and a young lady named Stella Hogan. John E. Hazzard and Ernest Torrance were the fun makers, ably assisted by Ada Lewis, who is, as always, amusing. "The Night Boat" is sure of a long trip.

If "The Golden Girl" had comedy of the same quality as Victor Herbert's music, there would be little doubt of its success, for it has several charming musical numbers and clever people to sing them. However, the humor, especially in the first act, is a minus quality. Of course, that may have been fixed since the opening night. Such things do happen. As an added touch of novelty, there is a chorus girl of such ability that she literally "stopped the show," and the wise management allowed her to take three bows. The little lady's name was Jeannette Dietrich, and it seems likely, from her youth and dancing ability, that she will soon outstep the chorus.

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A SHELF OF NEW BOOKS

BEING born thirty odd years ago, has its consolations. Of course, youth is a valuable asset, and at thirty-odd, one begins to see middle-age looming along the horizon, and one is apt to assume "settled atmosphere" that does not countenance mental or physical frivolities. But—on the other hand—being thirty-odd has the advantage of making one old enough to thoroughly appreciate several events and personages—among the latter, Buffalo Bill. How pridefully so many of us boast that he was our particular boyhood hero, and that we knew him, not only through the printed story, but through his Wild West Show — when he was seen in person. One can really sympathize with the boys of today who will have to grow up without witnessing the real herd of buffaloes rush around the arena, the real Indians and cowboys—the hold-up of the stage, its rescue by the bold band of fearless riders headed by Buffalo Bill himself, the sharp-shooting, the pony express with which the famous scout and his Wild West Show set every young heart aflame.

All this apropos the fact that Louisa Cody, Mrs. Buffalo Bill, has written her "Memories of Buffalo Bill" (D. Appleton & Co.). It is intimate biography. Told in a most simple, straightforward manner, as well as giving hundreds of intimate pictures of one of the most picturesque characters of American romance, the book is of historical value, for Buffalo Bill was a soldier—a fighter first, and a showman afterwards, and he roamed the country west of the Mississippi when that important sector of our land was undergoing its first settling. There is a temptation to discuss in detail the hundreds of anecdotes that go to make up the history, but by doing so a reader might be deprived of an anticipated pleasure. This biography, which will appeal to lovers of romance of all ages, ought to find a place in the library of every growing boy, for it acts for clean Americanism, and pictures a West that has ceased to be—

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and a type of men, clean and fearless, who have ceased to live.

Arnold Bennett wrote "The Book of Carlotta" (George Doran Co.), and when it was printed the dramatic situations of the novel assured him that they ought to be made into a play, so Arnold Bennett, novelist, turned the story over to Arnold Bennett, playwright, and the result is a highly interesting comedy-drama, which has the unusual qualities of being satisfying both as an acting and reading play. The story, which is probably familiar, is the romance of two great artists, a male musician, and a female novelist. The character development of the girl, *Carlotta,* who had no faith, is deftly portrayed with all the accompanying light and shade. How courage came to her, and how she dared to reclaim the man she loved e'en though the years had parted them, is told with dramatic intensity. The play has already been produced, with Elsie Ferguson in the leading role, and will have a metropolitan showing before this is published. Judging from the text it should be as great a success as Mr. Bennett's "Milestones"—another play which makes excellent reading.

"The Swing of the Pendulum" (Boni & Liveright) is one of the most ambitious novels written by an American woman. The author, Adriana Spadoni, has made a careful and keenly analytical study of her fellow women, and her result is more than a novel, it is a thesis. *Jean Norris,* the heroine, is introduced on the day of her graduation, and the story follows her through until approaching middle-age. There is romance, in fact the heroine is twice married, the first time most unsuccessfully. The great appeal of the story, however, is the author's ability to practically chart the pendulum-like swings of the emotions of her heroine, and it must be said that they chart, with vividness, the uneasy restlessness of modern woman as she strives to find her right place in the readjusting world.

"The Mystery of the Blue Villa," by Melville Davidson Post, and "The Blower of Bubbles," by Arthur Beverly Baxter (D. Appleton & Co.), can be reviewed as one, for

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they are both volumes of short stories, widely different in theme, but still appealing only to those who are able to enjoy a short story when it appears in book form. Why we do not have more volumes of short stories, is the first thing that comes to mind on picking up such volumes as these. The modern American authors are really masters of the short story. Mr. Post, for instance, can write a successful mystery story, with the ease, the assurance, that is not excelled or ever equalled by few living authors. He is a master of suspense and a keen character analyst. Mr. Baxter has not Mr. Post's skill, but he writes entertainingly, and graphically. He has recently served overseas, and most of his work mirrors his service. Both these books will be of great interest to the ambitious short-story writer, with which this country abounds.

"The Moon Pool," by A. Merritt (G. P. Putnam's Sons), probably caused the author as much enjoyment when he wrote it, as it will the reader, for Mr. Merritt is an editor of a metropolitan daily, and his excursion into the realm of the fantastic must have lifted him from the everyday world of murders, suicides and the squabble regarding the League of Nations. His story is as impossible as you would ask, belonging to the type of fantasy that is headed by Rider Haggard's "She." Its scene is a South Sea island, and so skillfully has Mr. Merritt drawn his people and their adventures that they are sure of welcome in the novelist's library.

A timely little volume is "Bolshevik Aims and Ideals" (The Macmillan Co.), which has been reprinted from "The Round Table," an English review. The book, which may serve as a primer to some, attempts to tell the truth, as far as is possible, of what has been and is happening in Russia. No attempt is made at a defense or an accusation, and the essay is far less hysterical than most writings on this important subject. There is, also, an accompanying essay on Russia's revolt against the "Red" regime.

The "spiritualistic fad," as many people call the in-

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creased interest in the supernatural, has brought out a number of interesting and enlightening books on the subject.

It would be almost impossible to tabulate the recent publications, for a glance at the lists of many of the publishers shows that they offer wide selections of authors, and that many of the authors are not content with one book, but have several which act as textbooks for those who would search into the affairs of the next world. However, "Life After Death," by Prof. James Hyslop; "Voices from the Void," by Hester T. Smith, and Hereward Carrington's "The Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism," are but trhee of a host of volumes, any of which may prove helpful to the student of the Spirit World. They are simple and direct "The Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism," are but three deductions than many writings on the same subject.

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The Editor's Un-Easy Chair

(Contributions to this department must be addressed to the Editor and should not exceed 1,000 words. Manuscripts should contain addressed envelope stamped.)

Curious Explorers

THE death of Admiral Peary, who Americanized the North Pole, besides the deep regret we feel for losing so distinguished an explorer, makes us still uneasy as to the future of explorers. What is to become of the professional explorer? He must have something to explore, but where is he going to find it? Peary's discovery of the North Pole was the last great adventure open to the human interest of explorers. Unfortunately, the earth is an old story, we know all about it; all its curves have been calculated, all its wrinkles numbered. Still, man is a curious being, he has and always will insist upon finding out a lot of things that don't really concern him. For this reason he has explored himself out of an exploring job. But the explorer must live, like the rest of us, he must find work.

Just now, with his feet on the hearth, he sits close to the glowing fire of past exploring records. Only recently has he been awakened by a glimpse of the night sky, never so clear and expansive as in winter. Whilst looking out of the window, he has been told that the stars have been overheard whispering about the earth. With a suspicion that some gossip is going on about him in the air, the explorer's curiosity is aroused. Your enthusiastic, hardened explorer is a confirmed gossip himself. His talk just now concerns the far horizon, and all that lies beyond. He is up and going the moment there is a new trip to make in the cause of scientific gossip. It adds zest to his hopes to find that, if restored to active duty, he will have to step off the earth to do so. There is perhaps a greater mystery about a trip to Mercury in an air-tight tube, than a trip to the North or South Pole in a ship. Then, too, if Sir Oliver Lodge continues to mix gravity and ether so that mere mortal flesh

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turns into electricity at the snap of one's fingers, the explorer will have to get some speed. He will be making round-trips from this world to the next as easily as if it had always been possible.

Years ago, two hungry journalists, desiring to sell an article, knew of an editor who was a scientific dabbler. So they conceived a theory that, by constructing a huge gun which would carry a small submarine for a bullet, and by placing inside the submarine three or four scientists, and firing the gun (at the risk of destroying Central Park by the explosion, which was the place selected for the event), the improvised bullet reaching the moon would leave the scientists with something to explore. Huge coils of wire connected with earth were to trail the scientists from the moon. Unfortunately for the editor, he published the story, with profuse illustrations, which was the end of his editorial career.

There is a moral to this incident which affects all future explorers—be sure of your scientific facts!

The Big Boy Scout

WITH the advancing years, maturity is certain. It is an uneasy accumulation of mistakes no matter how successful it may appear to be. Especially is it tainted with regrets when we see the plans of the new generation gathering an impetus of greater efficiency, physical and moral. On our desk it spreads itself in volumes of telling force. Take the immense advantages of the Boy Scout movement. Four hundred thousand American Boy Scouts means at least twice that number of citizens reclaimed from the useless playgrounds of a generation ago, educated to meet the human frailties that embarrassed their forefathers. The governing principles of life are embodied in the Scout Laws, trustworthiness, loyalty, helpfulness, kindness, friendliness, obedience, cheerfulness, thrift, courage, cleanliness and reverence. In eleven words the whole mastering theme of what we should live for is told. The success of this organization is based on the theory that there are no boys so

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bad that they can't become good boys, if they are encouraged to find happiness in responsibility. Give any living thing a responsible task, and it will be proud of the chance. Even dogs and horses are faithful, so why not encourage the same instinct in boys?

A Boy Scout is the pride of race asserting itself. The temple of life is all outdoors. There is more beauty, and vigor, and sanity, and morality in sky room, than there is in all the architecture of great cities. The natural boy is in love with nature, with the growing strength of his arms and legs, with the unfolding of his opportunities in manhood day by day. Underlying all the plans of education in schools and colleges is the one thing they have elected, the secret awakening of the boy's private character. The Boy Scouts of America have intelligently recognized this, for its regulations and laws establish a boy's responsibility in life, make a little man of him by showing him his chance to grasp the principles of manhood.

Salvation for the Alien

THE American Red Cross announces that it has adopted the Foreign Language Governmental Information Service from the defunct Committee on Public Information. Its original personnel was organized by Creel in 1918. Its object was to reach foreign-speaking groups in this country with patriotic food for thought. To make it adjustable is one of the purposes of its new patrons. As a department of war emergency, it has enjoyed exceptional patronage. When the Committee of Public Information was dissolved in May, 1919, foreigners were not left in a gloom of ignorance with which they were threatened when that disaster occurred. After that, the foreign-language public bureau was maintained by "special funds," for some time. These funds, however, finally reached the point of exhaustion, but the Bureau still hung on with the grim hold of democratic patriotism—without finances. There were sacrifices made by the personnel of the Bureau during

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this lapse of pay envelopes. Then, the American Red Cross, with its philanthropic resources, took the linguistic orphans in, and they are about to function in a campaign of salvation for a higher citizenship of our numerous guttural-voiced citizens. Anything that explains why Americans love America is desirable.

Fine Phrases

"THE joints of our imagination are automatically obedient to the forms we prefer." An un-easy thought, this, especially if we find any of the joints loose. The phrase is from the innumerable interviews that spot the world just now with a feverous color of thought. (Yes, we now have colored thought.) There never was such an epidemic of profound phrases as we are hearing this winter of visiting highbrows. You can talk to anyone, anywhere, without caring about being understood. What difference does it make whether people know what you're talking about? The old-fashioned notion that conversation was a simple, normal, soothing habit has been obliterated to make room for what our visiting highbrows call—impressions. Our imaginations have discovered all sorts of joints, bending skyward, or depthward, inward or outward, sideways or longways, so that we can stretch our apoplectic necks to the face of the moon, or wriggle into the presence of unforbidden spirits, or evaporate as matter into ether, or transform our electrons into a dynamic force that will carry us from Paris to Hong-Kong with the snap of the fingers, or —— or * * The joints of our imaginations need stiffening, they are too loose by far.

What Shouldn't Happen in Washington

UNDER the direction of Robert W. Babson, the publication of the *United States Bulletin* continues the unselfish propaganda of the defunct *Official Bulletin,* established by order of the President of the United States in the spring of 1917. By influence of this announcement it

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assumes the official mantle of Washington. As it reaches our desk, we examine it carefully, and on closer scrutiny we observe that it compares favorably with the thousand and one home publications that depend upon seasonable gossip and social prescience. In the Department, "What's Happening in Washington," we get such bright optimisms as this:

> "The Mexican situation is looking much better. Jenkins is out of jail. Although it has been done in a roundabout way to save Carranza's face, yet the acuteness has been relieved. We still believe that the United States will eventually intervene in Mexico, either independently or in conjunction with other nations, but Washington people doubt whether the present Administration will do it."

In the "Personal Contact" Department, which is described as "Information to help business men establish contacts in Washington," we find such encouraging tips as the following:

> "Representative and Mrs. S. Wallace Dempsey, of Lockport, N. Y., have taken apartments at the Shoreham for the winter.
>
> "Ralph Hayes, of Ohio, who has been Secretary Baker's private secretary for three years, has resigned to go into business."

Optimism and tea hints are the editorial policy of this little paper with a big name. What could be more delightful, for instance, to attract the stranger to settle in Washington, than the following editorial comment:

> "Washington has had a very happy week. The coal strike has been settled in a way satisfactory to everyone but Dr. Garfield and he does not feel as badly as some people are prone to believe. With the interest Dr. Garfield has always taken in coal mines, it is only natural for him to adopt the position he did."

Perhaps a sense of humor intentionally trickles between the lines of this inspiring official organ, which, by the way, only charges the modest sum of $12 a year subscription, and is issued weekly. With a few bright cartoons to press the quip and humor home to the reader, it might be turned into a comic weekly of large circulation.

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We Need Them Where They Are—Also

IF you want anyone to want you for another job stick to the one you have until the call comes, is pretty good sense, seems to us. Not that anyone has tried to pry us out of our job or call us to more noble activities. The thought just came to us all of a sudden, the other day, while talking with an ex-Ambassador, in reference to General Wood, sometimes mentioned for another job. There's also Herbert Hoover, Food Administrator for the U. S. A.; Governor Lowden, Chief Executive of Illinois; Senator Poindexter, U. S. Senator from Washington, *et al.*

Some people, perfectly secure in a good job, or a certain income, say, "General Wood," or "Frank Lowden," or "Miles Poindexter," "should resign and come right out in the open and tell just where they stand, unhampered by their official position." In our uneasy mental chair we have been apprehensive lest they resign. They all are pretty good at what they are doing, and General Wood in particular. It would be a weak link in our political government if every time a number of citizens started a "boom" for another good citizen, the party of the first part felt it necessary to stop working, and begin talking. We need men who are doing good work for the nation and if we want to call them to higher planes—that is our business, not theirs. And besides, the public likes the captain who sticks to his job until asked to take another. It's better politics, better business—and better psychology.

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Was fired at by a bold sheopard;
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Lying dead on the ground,
The leopard the sheopard had peopard.

—*The Veteran*

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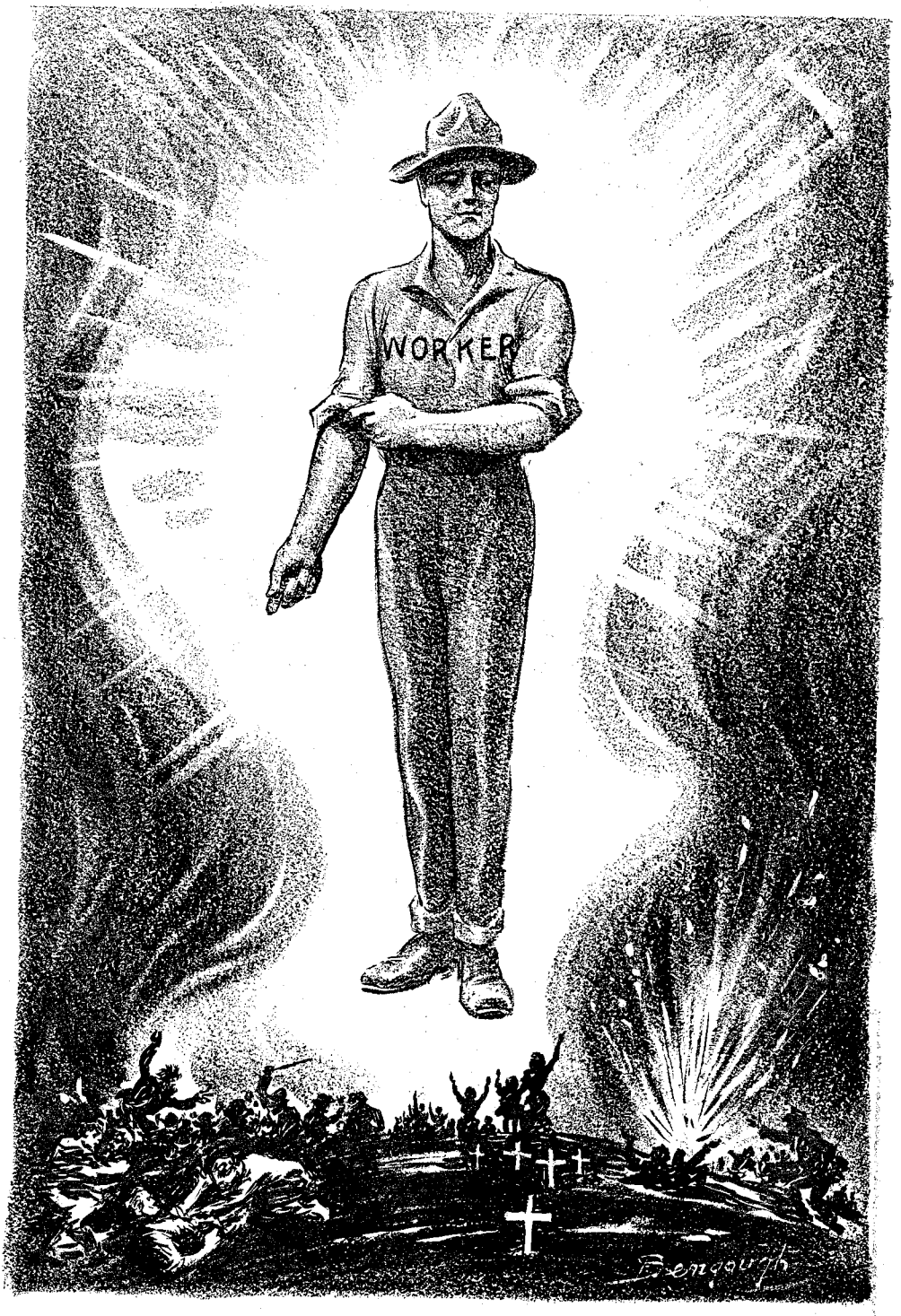

THE HOPE OF THE WORLD

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